

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Wednesday, the 7th August 1946.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. President (THE HON. SRI R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Recommendations of the Bhore Committee.

* 13 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Health and Medicine be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government of Madras have been required to submit their views on the various recommendations of what is known as the Bhore Committee Report;

(b) what steps are being taken to ascertain public opinion on the various recommendations before formulating their views;

(c) whether the Government of Madras have submitted their views or memorandum on the various points raised in the questionnaire or memorandum of the Bhore Committee; and

(d) whether the Government will be pleased to make their views available to the members of the Legislature?

THE HON. MRS. LAKSHMIPATHI:—“(a) The Government of India are holding a Conference at Simla to discuss some of the important recommendations of the Bhore Committee. I have been invited to attend the Conference.

“(b) The Bhore Committee's report has been published for general information and it is open to any one to represent his views to the Government.

“(c) No questionnaire or memoranda on the Bhore Committee's report has been received by this Government.

“(d) Copies of the orders issued with reference to recommendations of the Bhore Committee will be furnished to the Library of the Assembly Secretariat for the information of the members of the Legislature.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—“With reference to answer to clause (d) of the question, may I ask the Hon. the Minister for Public Health and Medicine whether the report would not be circulated to hon. Members of the House?”

THE HON. MRS. LAKSHMIPATHI:—“Orders will be issued after the Simla Conference is held and after the report of the proceedings of the Simla Conference is to hand.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—“May I take it then, Sir, that no action has been taken on any of the recommendations of the Bhore Committee till now?”

THE HON. MRS. LAKSHMIPATHI:—“The report cannot possibly be drawn up at this stage; it will be drawn up after the proceedings of the Conference. This will either be placed on the table of this House or made available to hon. Members through the Library of the Assembly.”

[7th August 1946]

Appointment of Public Prosecutors and Government Pleaders.

* 14 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state—

(a) the principles governing the appointment of Public Prosecutors and Government Pleaders;

(b) whether the District Magistrates and District Judges have to submit the names in consultation;

(c) whether the Government invariably accept their recommendations;

(d) whether there is a proposal under consideration to transfer the power to make those appointments to the Public Service Commission; and

(e) whether the High Court had been consulted in respect of rules governing those appointments?

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“(a) The character, ability and reliability of the candidates are taken into account in making the appointment.

“(b) The answer is in the affirmative.

“(c) Not invariably.

“(d) & (e) The answer is in the negative.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“May I know if District Magistrates are required to submit all the names or only one name?”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“They first call for applications. They send a list of names from this and of others who they think are suitable and could be recommended.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“Are District Magistrates expected to submit names in the order of preference?”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“Sometimes they do and sometimes they do not.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“Do political considerations influence the choice of Public Prosecutors?”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“I do not know what the hon. Member means. What is wanted is reliability and that is the criterion.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“May I know, Sir, if the High Court has anything to do in the matter of rules governing their appointments?”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“The High Court cannot interfere with Government choosing its own lawyers.”

Bonus to workers in the Lawrence Asylum Press.

* 15 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether, when the Lawrence Asylum Press was taken over by Government, the workers who continued to work even after the transfer of management to Government were promised bonus in addition to pension;

7th August 1946]

(b) whether those workers who have retired after the transfer to Government in 1913 are being paid pension only;

(c) whether the income from the assets of the Lawrence Asylum Press is being utilized for charities other than those intended for the benefit of the workers and their families;

(d) whether the Government have at any time considered the payment of bonus to workers who have retired after 1913 and who may retire hereafter for the period of service in the Lawrence Asylum Press out of the funds ostensibly ear-marked for the purpose; and

(e) whether the Government are contemplating to examine the whole question and do justice to workers for their faithful and loyal services?

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—

“(a) to (d) A report has been called for from the Superintendent, Government Press.

“(e) There is no such proposal under consideration now.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to place the report on the table of the House after the Superintendent's reply has been received?

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—

“ I am not in a position to reply before the report of the Superintendent has been received. I suggest that the hon. Member puts a question during the next session of the House and then I may be able to give an answer.”

Distribution of quinine.

* 16 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Forests be pleased to state—

(a) the amount of quinine available for distribution in this Province;

(b) what the sources of supply of quinine are;

(c) whether the available supply is enough to meet this Province's absolute minimum demand;

(d) what steps, if any, are being taken to produce or obtain more quinine;

(e) whether it is a fact that the Government of India have withheld some stocks of quinine; and

(f) whether the Government propose to cause enquiries to be made about the adequacy or inadequacy of quinine supplies?

THE HON. SRI B. VEERASWAMI :—“(a) The quantities of anti-malarial products available for distribution in this Province for the current year are—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (1) 16,000 lb. of quinine sulphate. | } For a period of 12 months from 1st February 1946. |
| (2) 16,000 lb. of cinchona febrifuge. | |
| (3) 2,000 lb. of totaquina. | |

[7th August 1946]

- (4) 72,722 boxes of quinine bihydrochloride ampoules—6 ampoules each. } For a period of one year from 1st April 1946.
- (5) 9,600,135 tablets of quinine substitutes. }

“(b) Government Quinine Factory, Naduvattam.

“(c) Yes, along with quinine substitutes and other cinchona products.

“(d) The area under cinchona in the Government plantations has been more than doubled within the last six years. The present area under cinchona is about 4,900 acres and the planting of cinchona in about 3,900 more acres during the next three years has been sanctioned. A new quinine factory is also under construction for the manufacture of more quinine and other cinchona products.

“(e) No information.

“(f) No, as quinine supplies are adequate.”

Rationing of millets.

* 17 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Motor Transport and Food be pleased to state—

(a) whether in fixing the ration in villages especially in millet-eating areas the fact of wastage before the millets are fit for consumption has been taken note of;

(b) what the allowance prescribed for wastage is;

(c) whether this allowance is included in fixing the ration; and

(d) what the ration of various kinds of millets prescribed in the millet-eating areas is?

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON:—“(a) Yes. A percentage is allowed to cover loss due to cleaning.

“(b) The allowance prescribed to cover loss due to wastage in respect of each variety of millets is given below:—

(i) Cholam	} 20 per cent.	(v) Varagu	} 50 per cent.
(ii) Cumbu		(vi) Samai	
(iii) Ragi		(vii) Maize	
(iv) Korra			

“(c) & (d) The allowance is not included in fixing the ration. When millets are issued as ration in the unhusked state, the quantity of each variety of millet to be given according to the scale of ration prescribed is increased by the percentage mentioned in the answer to clause (b).”

7th August 1946]

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR 1946-47.

* DR. U. RAMA RAO :—“ Mr. President, the health of the people of the Presidency has gone down considerably, due to war conditions, famine and pestilence. There is little or no medical relief in the village parts and people in rural parts have to go more than eight or ten miles before they can reach the nearest dispensary or hospital. I urge the Government to start a number of hospitals and dispensaries and also subsidized dispensaries must be opened in all parts of the Presidency. They must be opened in such a way that we have a net work of them with none beyond a distance of eight miles from any place. Travelling dispensaries must be started so that a group of three or four villages may be served by them. The doctor can take his medicines in the car and distribute medicine to patients. There must also be provision for prompt attention to serious cases, so that such cases can be removed to hospital in time. According to the present scheme, subsidized medical practitioners are supplied with medicines worth about Rs. 500 per year. This works out to less than Rs. 1-8-0 per day and they are expected to treat only eight or nine patients free with this supply. I feel, Sir, that this is absolutely insufficient. So, the subsidy should be enhanced in order that all people coming to the doctor may be treated. Dr. Rajan, our Minister for Public Health in the last Congress Ministry, had introduced many reforms in the Medical administration. The reforms have worked successfully and I hope that the present Ministry will continue the same policy. The most important reform was the introduction of the honorary system. This system is working in all the presidency hospitals, the General Hospital, the Maternity hospital and the Royapuram and Royapettah hospitals and they are doing very good work. I urge that the system must be extended to all district hospitals and by that means the district medical officers will be relieved of much of their professional work and they can go round the district inspecting rural dispensaries and hospitals. They will have enough time to improve medical administration in the district by finding out where rural dispensaries may be opened and suggest other measures towards that end. For all this work, they must be free from professional work. In places where there are two paid doctors, one may be released for such work. In that way, a large number of medical men are available to do medical work without costing much to the State.

“ Then there is the question of the amount of pay given to the House Surgeon. After studying for medicine for five years and a half and spending lots of money, a student gets his degree. A House Surgeon is only paid Rs. 30. After maintaining the student for five years and a half at such cost, it would be hard to expect his parents still to maintain him. As he is attending to three-fourths of hospital work, the amount paid to him is insufficient and it must be enhanced to at least Rs. 100.

“ Then, Sir, in every hospital you must have a hospital committee. In some of the big hospitals we have already such hospital

11-15
a.m.

[Dr. U. Rama Rao]

[7th August 1946]

committees; but they very rarely meet. These committees are very necessary to look after the interests of in-patients, because sometimes in-patients are not well-cared for.

“ Another thing I want to refer to is drugs and chemicals. Next to textile goods, we are importing large quantities of chemical drugs from abroad. Crores of rupees worth of drugs we get from foreign market. I ask, ‘ why not we manufacture them here? ’ A number of chemical factories can be started in this Province, similar to those started in other parts of India. For example, tinctures may be manufactured in India itself; the cost of production is very low, and it can be supplied very cheap. Now tincture is sold at Rs. 1-8-0; if it is manufactured in our country it can be supplied at twelve annas or even less. In Madras we have got a Medical Store; why not put somebody there and ask him to manufacture tinctures? That will save us a lot of money.

“ Then, Sir, we are in need of many medical men. Government have done a good thing in starting a medical college in Madura and Guntur. I hope they will start one such in Coimbatore or Calicut; for there are a number of students coming from Coimbatore, Malabar and South Kanara every year for admission. I hope by next year they will start a medical college in Coimbatore or Calicut.

“ In Madras we have a tuberculosis hospital in Royapettah. It is a shame to have it there—very unsuited for patients. Tuberculosis is a disease which requires much pure air and light for its cure, both of which are lacking there. It must be rebuilt. We have a sanatorium at Tambaram, and it is becoming very popular; and a number of patients are flocking there, owing to the popularity of the superintendence, so much so, it has become a paying one, and it is getting Rs. 40,000 per annum as fees from in-patients. Out of that amount alone 20 sheds a year could be built. I hope Government will increase the number of beds to 500 soon. In my days, Sir, only two per cent of tuberculosis patients recovered; but now 80 per cent recover. So we must try to save as many lives as possible by giving every sort of help to them. I also understand the staff in the tuberculosis hospital is inadequate. I hope Government will increase the staff there.

“ Again, Sir, child welfare centres should be increased, and they should be opened in all parts of the Province. Now we have only a few such in the mufassal. Again, Sir, we should have more maternity hospitals, for which we should train more nurses. There is complaint that enough number of Indian women are not forthcoming to be trained as nurses. On inquiry I understand the minimum qualification for admission is fixed as a pass in the S.S.L.C. examination, and unless that is lowered, we cannot get the required number.

“ On the sanitation side, many of the municipalities in the Presidency have no protected water-supply. For instance Mangalore and Udipi municipalities have no protected water-supply, so much so, they have become an endemic area for typhoid and cholera. As regards vaccination, every year we see several persons

7th August 1946]

[Dr. U. Rama Rao]

who were already vaccinated once, getting an attack of small-pox. To prevent it, you should bring a compulsory provision enforcing everybody to get revaccinated once every six years.

“ We had once medical inspection of schools. I do not know whether it still exists. If it does not, it should be revived. During Lord Pentland's regime a system was started whereby a specialist was asked to go about giving health lectures. That system should be introduced and it should be spread all over the Province. Knowledge of health is poor among the people, and so, we should make hygiene a compulsory subject for the School Final class, or for a lower class.

“ Now coming to the School of Indian Medicine, there is a lot of trouble going on in the City now. I was a member of the committee appointed by the late Raja of Panagal to devise means of starting this school. So I am not prejudiced on this subject. I want that school to continue; because, first of all, treatment of disease will be very cheap, as every kind of leaf and herb is available in India itself. It is rather an old science. After all there is not much difference between the two systems of medicine. Allopathic medicine is like a polished diamond, while the other is like a crude diamond. Both have merits. Ayurveda is not a different system altogether. Both are intended to treat the same heart, the same lungs, same everything. We have only to develop the system. Fifty years ago we were taught quite different things from what are taught now in colleges, because Allopathic system has developed. Similarly also the Indian system of medicine should be developed. It was intended that basic education should be given in the School of Indian Medicine. Afterwards the whole Ayurvedic medicine as well as Eastern and Western medicine came to be imparted, so much so that students are now burdened with four times the number of books that the medical students of Western medicine use. No doubt those students will say ‘ we know both systems. We are better off than you ’. But in both they are really imperfect. I hope the board of studies will revise the whole syllabus. In this year's budget you have made provision for five lakhs of rupees to open four colleges of Indian Medicine. The idea is very good; I entirely agree with it. But how are you going to manage it? Where are the professors and lecturers for them? The School of Indian Medicine has been in existence for the last 25 years. Have you got anybody trained from there? I hope the Hon. Minister will consider all the facts. I see also a gentleman, a B.A., B.L., has been appointed and he is to go about the Province and suggest a suitable place for starting the four colleges. I am quite in the dark as to his other qualifications. I am sure, unless the Hon. Minister knows about him well, she would not have appointed him. If Government have well-trained men, they should open also several Ayurvedic rural dispensaries.

“ As for the starting of the college, I hope the Minister will consider twice before she does anything. As for research all these 25 years, what result has been achieved by the Institute? No doubt a man was appointed in the Medical College. How many

11-30
a.m.

[Dr. U. Rama Rao]

[7th August 1946]

drugs did he research to find out what they contained? These are all questions to be dealt with. Unless that is done, there is no use of earmarking funds for research. I know people outside want that Ayurvedic hospitals should be started. It is all very good. But I know instances where Ayurveda was not able to cure diseases. Not because of the defect of the system but because the man did not know what medicine to administer. It can be acquired only by a scientific way of looking into the contents of the drugs. So we want a man who will investigate into it.

“ Coming to Prohibition, for the last 50 years I have been preaching in Tamil this Prohibition scheme. I am glad the Premier has agreed to start Prohibition in 8 districts this year. Anyhow, I believe, unless and until you establish Prohibition all over the Province, any attempt for the uplift of Harijans will be useless. We know, Sir, some of us here also drink. (Laughter.) I do not blame them for that habit. It is not good to drink. It spoils health. Fifty per cent of the murders can be attributed to drink. Many serious illness in the General Hospital can be traced to it. Many serious diseases will not get cured because the patient is addicted to drink. Unless and until the drink evil is abolished, several diseases cannot be cured radically. So, Prohibition should be introduced all over the Presidency. I do not care how much money you incur on it.

“ Then, Sir, with regard to irrigation facilities, we in Malabar and South Kanara have no such facilities. We are getting 200 inches of rain annually. The first crop we grow. The second crop is half-grown, and the third crop we could not grow, because there is no water. So, some irrigation schemes should be investigated. I know in several villages, in the month of March there is no water in wells. But in Chingleput district, where there is very scanty rainfall, they get water even in the hot seasons.

“ In South Kanara communication is so bad that if you want to go from one end of the district to the other, you have to cross ten rivers. If you want to go to a place 40 miles distant, you have to cover 100 miles as there is no direct communication. I want the Minister for Public Works to have a programme for the next 5 or 6 years now chalked out, and see that year after year it is implemented. With these words, I resume my seat.”

* SRI C. VEERABHADRA RAO :—“ ఆద్యక్ష, చాలా స్వల్పకాలము లో ఆంధరికి తృప్తికరమైన బడ్జెట్టును మన ప్రకాశం పంతులుగారు తయారుచేసి మనకు ఇచ్చినందులకు ఆయనను మనము అభినందించవలయును. ఇందులో ముఖ్యముగా మనకు కావలసినవి గ్రామ పునరుద్ధరణ మధ్య నిశేషము, హరిజనులకోసము ఒక కోటి రూపాయలు బడ్జెట్టులో విర్వాటు చేసినారు మనప్రకాశం పంతులుగారు. హరిజన అభ్యుదయమునకు ఇంకో స్కీము తయారుచేస్తున్నాము అన్నారు గాని అది ఏదో ఇంకా తెలియదు. కాని ముఖ్యముగా వారికి కావలసిన విషయము ఏమిటంటే ఏ గ్రామంలో చూసినా వారికి కావలసినవి ఉండడానికి వసతులు. హరిజనకాలనీ (colony) అని వేరే పెట్టుకుండా గ్రామంలోనే వారికి ఇళ్లు కట్టించి తక్కువ అద్దెలకు ఇస్తే చాలా బాగుండునని నా ఉద్దేశము. ఇంకా వారికి ముఖ్యముగా కావలసినది

7th August 1946] [Sri C. Veerabhadra Rao]

education. వారిలో చదువుకున్నవారు చాలా తక్కువగా ఉన్నారు. ప్రభుత్వం వారు ఇచ్చే ఈ కోటి రూపాయలలోనుంచి వారి చదువులకోసము ఖర్చు పెట్టవలెను. గ్రామాభ్యుదయము విషయమై ఒక్కొక్క ఫిర్కా తీసికొని దానిలోనే పంటలు అన్ని పండించుట బట్టలు వారికి కావలసినవి తయారుచేసుకొనుట స్వయముగా వారికి ఉపకరించేటట్లు గ్రామములోనే అన్ని ఉత్పత్తి చేసుకుందికిగాను (4) నాలుగుకోట్ల రూపాయలు ఈ బడ్జెట్టులో ప్రత్యేకించేరు. నిన్నను, మొన్న మన సోదరులు కొంతమంది ఖర్చు ఉత్పత్తి విషయమై అది సరిగ్గా పనిచేస్తుందా లేదా, సరి అయిన ఆదాయము వస్తుందో లేదో అని సందేహముగా ముట్టాడినారు అయితే వికార్యము పూనుకున్నా అది పూర్తి చేసిన తరువాతగాని దాని ఫలితములు మనకు తెలియవు. మన ప్రజా ప్రతినిధులు కూడా ఉన్నారు. ఆయా ఫీర్కాలలో ఆయా ప్రాంతములలో యన్న కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థలు వారికి సహాయం చేస్తే తప్పకుండా ఈ కార్యక్రమము జయప్రదముగా జరుగుతుంది అని నా నమ్మకము.

“మధ్య నిషేధము మొదటి (4) నాలుగు జిల్లాలు అన్నారు గాని ప్రజా ఆధిప్తాయము తీసుకుని మళ్ళీ (4) జిల్లాలు అన్నారు. ఇందుకు చాలా సంతోషమే. అయితే ఒక్క సంగతి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. నేను విశాఖపట్టణం జిల్లా వాడిని మా జిల్లా (Famine) ఫామిను జిల్లా ఆ జిల్లాలో కూడా ఈ సంవత్సరం మధ్యనిషేధము పెట్టినట్లయితే సంతోషము వీలు అయితేనే అలోచించవలయును. చాలామంది సోదరులు పూర్తిగా రాష్ట్రమంతటా మధ్యనిషేధము పెట్టాలి అని చెప్పుచున్నారు. అయితే ఇప్పుడు మనము ఆనుకున్నట్లు మనమంతయు పూర్తిగా నిషేధము పెట్టడానికి వారికి ఇంకో ఆధిప్తాయం ఉన్నదని కాదు. వారు త్యాగము చేయలేదా? కాదు వారు ప్రజా ప్రతినిధులు కాదా? మన ప్రకాశంగారు అధికారంలో ఉన్నప్పుడే రాష్ట్రమంతటా మధ్య నిషేధము సాధ్యమగునని అందరు అడుగుచున్నారని నా ఆధిప్తాయం కాని వారు కట్టముల నన్నింటిని అలోచించే ఎనిమిది (8) జిల్లాలో ప్రాహీకషన (Prohibition) పెట్టేరు. అది మనము గుర్తించవలయును.

“ఇంక మన రాష్ట్రములో కొండజాతులువారు చాలామంది ఉన్నారు, వారికి వివిధమైన సదుపాయములు లేవు. చదువుకొనడానికి స్కూళ్లులేవు. గ్రామాలకు రోడ్ల విర్మాట్లు ఏమీ లేవు అని నేను చెప్పుచున్నాను. కాబట్టి ఆ మిసిప్టరుగారు తప్పకుండా అలోచించి తగిన సదుపాయములను చేయవలెను.

“ఇక బట్టల కొరత మూడుమాసముల క్రిందట మనము ఇక్కడ సమావేశమైనపుడు Cloth distribution గురించి ఒక విధానము అవలంబింప తలచినాము అని ప్రకాశం పంతులుగారు చెప్పివున్నారు. గాని అమాదిరిగా జరుగలేదు. కొట్లవద్ద 1,000, 2,000 మంది జనము త్రోసుకుంటూచున్నారు. కాబట్టి Card System పెట్టి త్వరలోనే బట్టలకొరత తీరుస్తారని నమ్ముతున్నాను. చేనేత బట్టలు వెల ఇదివరకు కంటే 4, 5 రేట్లు ఎక్కువ అయింది. వాటికికూడా మిల్లు బట్టలవలెనే ధరలు నిర్ణయించి వాటిమీదనే ధరలు ముద్రించే విర్మాటు చేస్తారని నా నమ్మకము.

“ఇక అహార పదార్థముల విషయము మనరాష్ట్రములో బియ్యము తినేవారు చాలామంది ఉన్నారు. ఉత్తర హిందూస్థానం Northern India లో గోధుమలు తినే వారు ఎక్కువగా ఉన్నారు. ఆ గోధుమలు వారికి, వారికిచ్చే బియ్యము మనకువచ్చే విర్మాటు జరుగవలసి ఉంది. దానినిగురించి మన ప్రభుత్వంవారు డిల్లీ గవర్నమెంటుకు వ్రాసి తగిన చర్య తీసుకుంటారని నా నమ్మకము.

“దీని తరువాత ఇక జీతములనుగురించి తక్కువ జీతముల వారిగురించి ఈ బడ్జెటులో ఏమీలేదు. పోలీసు డిపార్టుమెంటులో తక్కువ జీతములవారు అంటే

[Sri C. Veerabhadra Rao] [7th August 1946]

కాన్స్టేబిల్స్ (Constables) అంతేగాని ఇన్స్పెక్టర్లకు అంతగా అవసరము లేదు. అని నా అభిప్రాయము Lower grade గుమస్తాలు బంట్రోతులు ఉన్నారు. వారిగురించి మన ప్రధానిగారు ఆలోచించి తగిన ఏర్పాటుచేస్తారని నా నమ్మకము. ఎందుచేతనంటే ఉద్యోగస్థులలో సిగ్గుపా ఉండకూడదు. కరెక్షను చూపించాలంటే జీతాలు వారి జీవనోపాధికి సరిపోయేటట్లు ఉండాలి. కాని చిత్తమేమిటంటే ఇప్పుడు పెద్ద ఉద్యోగులలోనే కరెక్షను కనిపిస్తుంది. విధ్యావిదానముగురించి ఈ రెండు మూడు రోజులు చర్చలు జరిగినవి. మన Education Minister గారు ఏదో ఒక plan తయారు చేస్తాము అంటున్నాడు. కాని ప్రస్తుతము ఉపాధ్యాయుల జీతములు ఎక్కువ చేయటం ముఖ్యముగా అవసరము. ఇప్పుడు మద్యనిషేధము కోట్లకొలది ఖర్చు చెయ్యడానికి సిద్ధముగా ఉన్నారు. ఈ గుమస్తాలకు స్కూల్, మాస్టర్లకు జీతములు ఎక్కువ చెయ్యడానికి డబ్బులేదంటే ఈ ఖర్చులకు కావలసిన ధనము వస్తులద్వారా వసూలుచేయవలెనని నామనవి. ఈ మధ్య మన Education Minister గారు విశాఖపట్నం వచ్చినప్పుడు కొంతమంది Teacher లు ఆయన వద్దకు వెళ్లి చెప్పుకొనగా మీ ప్రధానిగారి చేతుల్లోనే ఫయనాన్సు వుంది. ఆయనవద్ద చెప్పుకొండి అన్నారు. గాని as Education Minister it is the duty of the Education Minister to look to this.

“తిరువాత మన ఆయుర్వేదం గురించి మన పోదరులు కొంతమంది తమ అభిప్రాయములు చెప్పిఉన్నారు. ఆయుర్వేదకు Madical Collage గురించి కొన్ని అభిప్రాయములను చెప్పిఉన్నారు. రామారావుగారు చెప్పడములో డాక్టర్లను చూసుకొని కాలేజీలను పెట్టమన్నారు. అయితే డాక్టర్లు విలాగ తయారౌతారు విలాగేజీలు లేనిదే అందుచేత కాలేజీలను డెవలప్ డాక్టర్లు తయారౌతారు. Local Board లు కూడా ఈ ఆయుర్వేద డాక్టర్లను పెట్టవలెనని నేను కోరుచున్నాను. అలోపతి (allopathy) మంచిది అని ఎవ్వరుచెప్పలేరు. ఒక్క Surgery లో allopathy 3 place ఉంది అంటే చాగుంటుంది ఇవి అన్నీ General things.

“ఇక Vizagapatam water-works గురించి కొంత చెప్పాలి ఈ మధ్య Health Minister గారు వచ్చినప్పుడు అందరు వెళ్లిచెప్పుకున్నాడు. ఆప్పుడు నేను సుస్టీగా ఉన్నందువల్ల వారిని చూడలేకపోయానను. మిలిటరీవారు వారి తాలూకు Water-works ఇవ్వడానికి సిద్ధముగా ఉన్నారు కొన్ని లక్షల హెచ్చు తక్కువలలోఉంది. బహుశః కుదురవచ్చును. Water works తో పాటు Drainage scheme కుండా తయారు చేయించవలయును అని నామనవి. ఇంతవరకు 1952 లో Drainage scheme వస్తుంది అన్నారు. Water-works తో పాటుగా Drainage scheme కూడా sanction చేస్తే చాలా సంతోషము.

“విశాఖపట్నంలో మిలిటరీవారి Diary form ఉంది ఇప్పుడు పట్టణంపాల సప్లయ చాలా కష్టముగాఉంది. అది సుమారు (20) ఇరవై లక్షలు కావచ్చును. అది మన గవర్నమెంటువారు తీసుకుంటే చాలా సదుపాయముగా ఉండును.

“సముద్రానికి అడ్డ ముఖ్యముగా మాకు కావలయును లేకుంటే పట్టణము పాడేటట్లుఉంది. సముద్రపు ఒడ్డున రోడ్లు అంతా కొట్టుకపోయింది. ఈ మధ్యను Central P.W.D. వారు సిమెంటు Concrete Block లను వెయిస్తున్నారు. మన గవర్నమెంటువారు సెంట్రలు గవర్నమెంటువారితో ఆలోచించి Groyne walls కట్టించవలయును అలాగయితే కరెంటు కాకుండా అగుతుంది. ఆ ప్రయత్నములుచేసి విశాఖ పట్టణమును రక్షించవలయునని నేను కోరుచున్నాను. అయితే ఇది Unproductive Scheme కావచ్చును. ఒడ్డెట్టులో 4 వ వేరా క్రింద రావచ్చును. అయినా ఆలోచించి చెయ్యవలెనని నామనవి.

7th August 1946] [Sri C. Veerabhadra Rao]

“ మా Vizag లో లా నేస్సు బై అని ఉంది దానిని Natural aquarium గా తయారు చేయవచ్చునని లోగడ Carmichael కార్యదర్శిగారు ఒక suggestion చేసి యున్నారు. ఆ Scheme కూడా అలోచించి త్వరలో ఆ Lawson's Bay ను aquarium గా తయారు చేయించవలెను. నేను చెప్పిన విషయములన్ని త్వరలో చేస్తారని నక్షుచు నేను విరమించుచున్నాను.”

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—
“ He seems to know English very well, Sir.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ He can choose his language.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ On a point of order, it is not the business of the Education Minister to question his knowledge of English.”

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—
“ It is not his regional language. (Laughter.) I agree.”

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ Mr. 11-45
President, Sir, as I sat listening to the speech of the Hon. the 6.m.
Prime Minister the other day, my mind travelled back to almost seven years ago when on that fateful day the party in power decided to lay down the reins of office which they held and to go into the wilderness taking the nation along with it. I cannot help rejoicing that it has been our privilege to-day at any rate, to have a budget presented to the Legislature and to have the opportunity, on behalf of the public, on behalf of the unknown citizens whom I claim to represent as a nominated member (laughter) to speak and give expression to my ideas. Because Sir, I belong to no party, I claim no allegiance and I do not propose to claim any allegiance now. We were then told that the State coach was resting, that the bulls were resting and that within a period of three months the bulls would be reinvigorated enough to march forward triumphantly. Those expectations were unfortunately belied and far from the bulls being in a position to drag the chariot within three months, I am afraid the bulls which were resting began to get rusty, of which within the last fortnight we have had conclusive evidence. I have been reading all the papers—I am afraid I am a voracious reader of all the daily English papers and one Tamil paper published in this City—and I must confess that I have been strangely puzzled at the manner in which events have been taking place relating to the party in power within the last fortnight. My friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao has referred to it, and if I do once more refer to it, it is certainly to underline what he has said. Let me make it perfectly clear that it is not my intention to refer to the party as such or to criticize the party, but in the interests of democracy, in the interests of the future of democratic nations, and on the eve of a great democratic government which we hope to usher in not only in the provinces, but in the whole of India, I feel that sound traditions should be laid down and that well established conventions of democracy that have been proved to be right in other countries must also be followed in this country, at least till such time as you are in a position to find out the mistakes and rectify them. I hope, Sir, no particular motive will be attributed to me in referring to this procedure. It was strange, far more strange

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

than I had expected, to see the confidential proceedings of a party meeting reported verbatim not only on the present occasion, but even on the occasion when the choice of the leader was on the anvil. I am not interested in the internal politics of any party, but I do say this, that if these confidential discussions are put down in black and white in the press, we shall be burying democracy fifty fathoms deep and we shall not be able to establish once again those principles for which democracy stands. Here may I say, Sir, we are getting too frightened with the press, the press which was considered the fourth estate of the realm, has, in my humble opinion, become the first liability not only in this country but in many other countries also. After all, we know the press, we know the men behind the press. What reason is there for us to think that they have a superiority complex, and we should submit to an inferiority complex. If a confidential document in my house were taken and used by somebody else, he would get into the clutches of law, and, at any rate, public opinion will be strongly against such a procedure. When journals get hold of these confidential proceedings, when their emissaries are hanging about the windows and get verbatim copies, we call it in polite language, a journalistic scoop. Is that what democracy is going to tolerate? I know that in America this is being carried on, but let us not imitate the American example, at least in the journalistic field.

“ My friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao referred to the procedure adopted in regard to the budget. I do take strong exception to any member or any party being made aware of the budget before it is presented to this House. That is against all conventions as far as I understand. Budget is a confidential document, it may contain any measures of taxation, the revealing of which before time will mean catastrophe and a great deal of blackmarketing with which we are now familiar. In England, Sir, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is the only person entrusted with budget secrets. He may consult the Premier on general principles, he may consult his colleagues on general principles. But let me assure this House that they will find enough evidence if only they will follow the excellent series of books that have been written by a famous parliamentary reporter that never has it been possible for leakage to occur, and when it has occurred it has led to the most disastrous consequences. I do venture to appeal to the Prime Minister to stand firm against any party indiscipline which demands the consideration of the budget, because his duty is not to present the budget to the party in power, but it is his duty to present the budget to this House, to you and to me and to friends on this side of the House so long as he holds the office of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister. Here again my object in referring to this is that sound conventions must be established, that we must not be torpedoed into a frenzy of fury ruling over us simply because people have got the vote. What does it matter if they have vote? We must stand on those principles. Whether they are in a position to dethrone us or enthrone us, it matters little. The discussions have been more painful to me for another reason. This has led to all sorts of wild rumours. It is not my

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

business to know whether this or that change may be effected in the Cabinet, whether it is going to be reshuffled, whether it is going to be reconstituted, whether portfolios are going to be transferred from one person to another. I do not mind this in the least for after all they are Indians, my friends and my brethren; whether they will believe me to be their brother or not, it does not matter. But I do take exception to this. Though this agitation has been carried on by some people with the best of motives, undoubtedly, it has led to strange inferences. I have heard it mentioned that this is a move on the part of a group of Tamilians to oust the Andhra Prime Minister.

“ We have enough of troubles, we have enough of communal discord. Are we going to add another—a very serious one—for increasing friction between the Tamilians and the Telugus on account of such activities? I beg of my friends to consider this most dispassionately. It was most unfortunate that expressions have been used, that statements have been made. I for one who have the greatest regard for the ex-Prime Minister, was shocked that one month after the assumption of office by the Ministry a statement appeared in the press that nothing was done by the Prime Minister within that one month. Sir, I must apologise if I refer to these matters, but I do so as an unknown citizen (A voice : ‘ An unknown warrior ’) not belonging to any party. I realize—if others do not—that after all the Ministry is called upon to present this budget to the House within a very short period of its taking up office, a budget that has been prepared by the Advisers’ regime. Anybody who knows the smallest details of budget preparation will realise how difficult and how almost impossible it is for the people to change and present the budget in their own manner. I think any criticism of this budget must be tempered by this fact, by this knowledge that the Ministry had not the fullest details before it, nor the possibility of evolving its own budget, because they had assumed office long after the budget had been prepared. When commitments had been made, when expenditure had been incurred and when various schemes had already been sanctioned, it would have been the height of folly for any ministry to have changed that budget. Such a thing does not occur in democratic institutions. When the Labour Party come into power with a Conservative Government having framed the budget, they do not jettison it at all. On the other hand they work it to the best of their capacity making only minor changes. Then in the next year, there will be the budget presented by the ministry in power which may be subjected to any criticism.

“ Having said that, Sir, let me make a few remarks—I do not call them criticisms—about the budget that has been presented. It may not be strange after all if I take up the education portfolio first. I am glad that the Hon. Minister said that he proposed to have a comprehensive scheme for education. Let me give this note of warning. A party in power may experiment with any reform. Yesterday separation of the judiciary from the executive was an anathema to the party in power. To-day the members of the party

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

in power vie with one another in their anxiety to separate the judiciary from the executive. Yesterday it was probable that they might have thought of a series of other things. To-day they might have a different view. It is all possible because the mistakes of one ministry can be amended by the ministry that follows. But when it comes to educational matters, the mistake of any ministry, legislature or government will be reflected upon a generation which will have no chance to improve itself and that is why all great reformers have suggested that in matters of education the policy of *gestina lente* is the proper policy to pursue. May I commend that principle very humbly to the Hon. Minister for Education? Whoever may be in a hurry to catch the train, the Minister for Education cannot be in a hurry like this to catch any train that is passing and detach any train that is passing. He must take note of all other factors, and read the psychology of the growing children, which is a most difficult thing to understand and which unfortunately—I say this with due deference and with the greatest amount of humility—even the greatest politicians do not seem to understand. The one body that ought to be consulted in these matters is the teachers. I see many reforms are being adumbrated from many places. I see very little of the teachers' voice being felt in those reforms. I am not prepared, as one who has been connected with this field of education for nearly 40 years, to consign the teachers to oblivion and to imagine that after all these schoolmasters do not know anything beyond the class room. Democracy, if its foundation is to be well and truly laid, can only be on a sound system of education. Sir, these teachers are not vociferous and their lot is what it is. Reference has been made by various speakers to the poor pay that the teachers are being paid. The other day I was shocked to find an advertisement in the press: Wanted a secondary grade trained lady teacher on a magnificent starting salary of Rs. 25 with a biennial increment of Rs. 2 till she ended with 45. On the same day there was a half page advertisement by the Director-General of Post Offices, telling us about the minimum salaries that were given to the postal employees doing the most responsible and most nation-saving work that anybody can think of. I do not object to the revision of pay that has been given to postal workers. If this is the way in which teachers are going to be looked after. I say that education in this country will never progress. The gentleman who advertised this must have spent at least three rupees for the advertisement; to get this by way of increment this poor lady will have to wait for three years. If this is democracy, I say it is far better to have an autocratic rule than to have a democratic rule. Do you want the teacher to strike? On every platform which I had the privilege of addressing, I said and I repeat it on the floor of this House that if there are two professions which will never strike and which will consider strikes as beyond their sphere of activity—I won't use a stronger expression—they are medicine and teaching, and unfortunately I belong to both of them (laughter) but that is another matter. I say this because if the teachers strike, the whole discipline of the nation goes—not that we have much of discipline. Having sowed the seeds of indiscipline, having sowed the wind, some of us are reaping the

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

whirlwind, but that is another thing. If the teachers strike, then there will be no discipline whatever in every sphere of activity. Even as it is, so little are they cared for that to-day the managements are subjecting them to such rigorous methods of discipline that the cane which was held by the teacher has gone to the hands of the student and the teachers turn into the class room with fear and trembling. Because the students' organizations are there, they can always call for a strike. I think it is my duty and I make an appeal to the Hon. Education Minister and the Hon. Prime Minister not to force any unfortunate situation which will go against our whole life's contention that the teaching profession should not strike and see to it that their grades are improved, that their conditions are improved, and that the four charters which they have made are conceded to them because they are very very reasonable indeed.

[“ Sir, I next come to the subject of primary education. I must confess, Sir, that I was greatly disappointed in the educational budget that was presented to us. It bears no comparison to what is occurring in other countries. The Education Act of England of 1944 extends the age of compulsion to 16 and the age of part-time education to 19, and compulsory education is given to all. I do not suggest that it is possible here. I am a practical man. I am not an idealist. The House will realize very soon how little of an idealist I am. Sir, unless steps are taken to see that illiteracy is stamped out nothing can be done. People talk of adult education. What is the good of adult education? All the time we talk of this subject, illiteracy flows in continuously. I have always held the view that it is not adult education that is of primary importance, but the education of youths so that they may not grow up as adult illiterates. You will be doing a wrong if you increase the quantum of adult illiteracy in your attempt at concentrating on educating the adults. I have no doubt whatsoever that, if there are any difficulties in the way of meeting the charges, the rich and the well-to-do ought to pay. I do not suggest that free and compulsory education should be given to everybody, but I do suggest that the rich and well-to-do ought to pay and that the poor and the backward and the very meritorious in which category I do not include all the first-class mark holders—ought to be given it free. When I was Principal of the Medical College in 1937 I wrote to the Government that it was time that free education for women was stopped. I find no use in educating the daughters of High Court Judges, Advocates-General and civilians of high standing at State cost except in enhancing their marketable value in the marriage market in proportion. (Laughter.)

“ I now come to the subject which has roused a great deal of controversy. I want to proceed to that with the calmest consideration possible and I ask the Hon. Minister for Education to bear with me in the criticism that I have to make. I asked yesterday whether there was a change in the policy of this Ministry, as compared with the last Ministry who had suggested that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction, in so far as this

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

Ministry have stated that the regional language should be the medium. The Hon. Minister stated that it was only intensification. That answer did not improve matters. Sir, I want the Hon. Minister to realize this: the medium of instruction is only a means to an end. It is not an end itself. We want the mother tongue because we understand better in it and not because we feel that the mother tongue is all in all. I have the utmost reverence to my mother tongue. I feel that it has been wronged in the past by not being placed on the proper pedestal. I feel that the mother tongue should have been given the greatest encouragement. Let me here say that, long before the Government, present or past or the managements thought of it, it was left to the University of Madras to insist upon the same status and better emoluments being given to the teachers of Indian languages. Sir, the introduction of the mother tongue by the late Ministry had one unfortunate effect. They allowed a lot of exemptions, but they said that exemptions will be given from year to year. The result of it was that the Director of Public Instruction used to exempt some schools from year to year. Suddenly, I understand, speaking subject to correction, an order was passed that no such exemptions should be given and that the regional language should be introduced.

"I want, first of all, hon. Members to realize what this means to a student who has studied in the fourth form with English as the medium of instruction with a scappy knowledge of Telugu or Tamil which may or may not be his mother tongue. My own mother tongue was Tamil. I was in Kurnool reading Telugu. I still maintain that if the Hon. Minister for Education had been then in charge of this subject I should have been a humble cart-driver in the village streets of Kurnool and not have come to the position to which I have fortunately come. It is a great mistake to force on the boys who have been educated in a particular manner, suddenly, this thing called the regional language. This is not education. You must allow them to continue. That is why I began by saying that the educational policy of any Government should be *festina lenti*. Then, Sir, there has been a great deal of criticism about the regional languages. My hon. Friends (Muslims) here and in the other place were naturally very much agitated about it. Let me tell you, because a certain language is spoken it does not mean that the person who speaks that language is an expert in that. I speak Telugu and Tamil. I am at home in any place. My hon. Friend, Dr. Rama Rao, is a linguist as all Mangaloreans are. Almost all Mangalore men know six or seven languages including Thulu which is a spoken language but not a written language. The fact that a person knows a particular language does not mean that the person concerned can follow that language and can assimilate his studies in that language and can reproduce what he has been taught in that language. You are doing a great mistake if you want to force this regional language on all people.

"Let me in this connexion refer to a little bit of questioning that took place in the other House with regard to the State of Hyderabad. There were questions and counter-questions. The

[4th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

Hon. Minister said both are wrong. That was the Delphic Oracle at the fullest. But the fact is that all the three of them did not know what had taken place. (Laughter.) In the State of Hyderabad we had the system called School-Leaving Certificate which was under the control of the University of Madras with English as the medium of instruction. It was left to the University of Madras to declare who should be eligible. Even now the position is the same. In 1943 the Syndicate of the University of Madras got a communication from the Board of Secondary Education, Hyderabad, that they proposed to have their own system of School-Leaving Certificate, that they are not going to have the University to interfere in the matter, and that the University should recognize those whom they declared as eligible. That thing happened now in Travancore. Travancore has got its own eligibility. But then Hyderabad said that Urdu shall be the medium of instruction compulsorily for everybody. The Syndicate considered that and felt, before any representations were made, that it was not the correct policy to force a language which was foreign and not the mother-tongue on the youths of Hyderabad and took exception to that particular provision and appealed to the State of Hyderabad to revise it, keeping pending the question of accepting the School-Leaving Certificate. Then various representations were made. I should like to invite the attention of the Hon. the Premier to the fact that the Telugu-speaking people of Hyderabad who all speak Urdu were the first to come to us in dozens of deputations. When I was actually in Hyderabad in connexion with an Inter-University Conference, many people came to me and said that it would mean virtual abolition of all educational facilities to the Telugu-speaking and the Marathi-speaking children in Hyderabad. I had no hesitation in advising the Syndicate that they must politely, with firm conviction, request the Hyderabad Government and the Board of Secondary Education to change that and to allow, not the regional language which is Urdu—and that is the State language and the court language also—but the Telugu language as the medium of instruction for the Telugu-speaking population. The question was taken up with the Resident. Now, I will, with your permission read the resolution of the Syndicate on the subject :

‘The Syndicate, having carefully considered the letter of the Secretary to the Hon. the Resident at Hyderabad and the Secretary to the Board of Secondary Education, resolve that the higher secondary certificate examination will be recognised for a period of ten years from the commencement of the examination in 1944 if English be permitted also as the medium of instruction. Should, however, the Board of Secondary Education find it possible to allow other mother-tongues, Telugu and Marathi, as the medium of instruction besides Urdu, the Higher Secondary Certificate Examination will be recognized without any limitation of time. The Syndicate has always accepted the principle that the medium of instruction should as far as possible be the mother-tongue and that opportunity should be afforded to candidates to be trained through the mother-tongue wherever it is possible. In the light of this view point the Syndicate hopes that before the ten-year period is over, it will be possible to the Board of Secondary Education to impart education at least in the three important languages of the State, Urdu, Telugu and Marathi.’

“ Sir, I am glad and grateful that this resolution was passed in a Syndicate when there were three members of the Muslim community present, two of whom—I do not know whether there were three

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

—were high-class politicians. They are politicians who have taken in these matters a very prominent part. I refer to my friends Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan and Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, the latter one of the Councillors of the Corporation of Madras. Not only did they acquiesce in that, but they stood by us till Hyderabad recognized this and allowed the medium of instruction to be the language which they had been having all these years till such time as Marathi and Telugu are introduced. My suggestion to the Hon. the Prime Minister is that this policy of regionalization would mean that to-morrow Hyderabad will come to him and say : ' Look here, your own Province has asked that regional language should be taught. We will have only Urdu in Hyderabad and no Telugu or Marathi.' Sir, here is the seed which will develop into a mighty tree of conflict between Hindus and Muslims. People ask why are there conflicts? When the history of this country comes to be written some years later and when this question of Hindu-Muslim conflict comes to be analysed the place of honour will be given to the ex-Speaker of the Legislative Assembly who, in spite of repeated protests from the Muslims, particularly from the late lamented Lal Jan, insisted on a song being sung in the Legislative Assembly. To-day we are getting on well; the world is not any the worse. But let us not, for God's sake, create yet another conflict. My Hon. Friend the Minister may be right or wrong, but when there is a feeling like that, let us stop it.

" Another thing is that if this policy is copied by Bombay, does not the Hon. Minister realize that the South Indians who have monopolized Matunga and Dadar will be forced to learn the languages of the Province, the regional languages such as Guzarati and Marathi? Does he contemplate with equanimity the step that may be taken by the Congress Government in Bombay? If he does, I have no further argument to advance. I will give up my case as a lawyer who has lost his case. (Laughter.)

" Let me proceed to another subject. The Hon. Minister in charge of Industries is not here. I should have liked to tell him that while I greatly appreciate the zeal with which he introduced technical education in starting so many polytechnic institutions, there is unfortunately a tendency for each department to work in water-tight compartments. Education is to be considered as a whole and not in parts and, if we agree to that principle, I would suggest to the Ministry that every part of education should be taken up together. Technical education comes under the Education Minister. But polytechnics is a subject that ought to be considered in consultation with the various departments, Agricultural subjects in consultation with the Agricultural department, Medical subjects with the Health department, Industrial subjects with the Technical Education department, Forestry with the Forest department and so on. In this connexion I should say that I am glad that the Forest College is once again coming to life. Here is another reversal of the policy which the late Ministry laid down. I do not know why the late Ministry abolished the Forest College. I hope they

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

were not frightened by the denizens of the forests. This matter is a bone of contention between the Ministry and myself. The Hon. Minister in charge of Forests may not be aware of it; but it was one of the recommendations of the Post-war Education Sub-Committee of the Post-war Reconstruction Committee that when this College of Forestry is established, there should be a degree course instituted with a view to develop the resources of the forests and do research in forestry. I took upon myself the painful task of writing to Government on the subject. For the last one full year this appeal has been going on. The Chief Conservator of Forests, who knows everything about University education—the only person that does not is the Vice-Chancellor—did not think that the Forest College is necessary. That is the old policy of the British administration in the country. They want only clerks and coolies. They do not want their equals. The people we require, according to them, should be trained in the great Forest Colleges at Edinburgh, in Wales and in Cardiff. We know that Great Britain is full of forests for that sort of education. (Loud laughter.) I was more than pained and I must confess that I did not reply in very considerate language to that sort of criticism against the institution of a degree course in Forestry.

“ I was a little surprised when my hon. Friend, Mr. Theobald, suggested that there was something rotten with University education. I hold, and I think the Hon. the Minister for Education has reason to know my views on the subject, that there is a great deal of improvement that is necessary. So there is in every department of life including trade and commerce. (Laughter.) But I should like to tell him this : If University education has suffered, it has suffered because the Government of the day has not given that encouragement that is due. The hon. Member complained, very rightly, that the engineering graduates were not fit to be employed in firms. I do not want to say much about it except this : (An hon. Member : ‘ What he said was that he wants graduates.’) But graduates have not got experience and are not good enough. The University trains them and to give them practical training, collaboration with the Government is necessary. Has it succeeded? I wrote to the Railway Member and the Railway Board of the Government of India. In fact, I wrote to everybody possible that they must take our engineering graduates and train them in railway workshops. In 1943 a reply was received saying that in view of the war and in view of the great secrets locked up in railway workshops (laughter) the graduates cannot be taken in for training. Though these graduates were taken into the great military departments, they were not considered to be good enough material to be entrusted with work, in our own railway workshops and the facilities for training were denied to them. As for the Public Works Department workshops, as the Hon. Minister concerned is not present in the House I do not want to say anything now. But I can say this : The Public Works Workshop is a museum which ought to be scrapped as soon as possible.”

[7th August 1946]

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ I will reply for the Minister. We fixed up an engagement with the Food Commissioner at 12 o'clock and we have to be there. I have to be there too, but could not go till the hon. Member concludes his speech.”

* DR. SRI A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ Sir, I was referring to the impediments and the heroic efforts the University has made to get this practical training for our students. To-day, I am sorry to say, for the subject of tele-communications in the Engineering College all the necessary facilities are not available. Unless the Government comes to our help as requested in a resolution which I had the honour of moving in a committee that was appointed to consider technical education under Mr. Sircar, unless the University is afforded all reasonable facilities, unless the business concerns in our country are insisted upon to give training to the students and unless the industrial concerns floated in this country offer our nationals the necessary practical training, the University degrees will not be as efficient as they ought to be. It is not the education that is bad. May I tell you, Sir, that when it comes to the profession of Medicine, the medical graduates of our University have been pronounced, after seven years of trial, as the most competent among all the medical graduates not only in this country, but in the other countries as well. (‘Hear, hear.’) If in the field of medical science we can produce such brilliant practitioners, do you think that the intellect gets dried up or becomes stagnant when the students go to the Engineering College? Nothing of the sort. It is want of interest on the part of the Government of the day that is responsible for that state of affairs.

“ I now come to a very contentious subject and I fear that my remarks on this subject will be considered as cranky even as my remarks on another subject on the floor of the senate were considered cranky. Everybody is agreed that prohibition is a very useful thing. Nobody will say that drink should be supplied. But there are two fundamental factors that ought to be taken into consideration in deciding upon launching prohibition. One is the practicability of the scheme, not on public platform, not by the reason of the needs of the administration of it as stated by my hon. Friend, Col. Iyengar. We have to consider whether, in a practical manner, prohibition will succeed. The second question which I wish to put very pointedly to the Hon. the Premier and more pointedly to his followers is, what is the priority you give in your scheme of reforms to prohibition. Is that to be given the highest priority as against everything else one can think of? It is an evil so-called which has been there for thousands of years to which we add the very fact that our ancestors taught us to drink the Soma juice, which, after all, is liquor. At least in Hinduism it is not banned. I am not speaking of the Muslim religion. Is this to be given the highest priority? Let me make one point clear. When the sales tax was introduced in the Legislative Assembly, among the many reasons which were given to justify it the most forcible one was that it would help to introduce prohibition, but the Sales Tax Act itself does not contain a single word that the proceeds of this tax will be restricted to prohibition only.

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

It is not correct therefore to assert it on sound parliamentary principles. While I agree that the sales tax should ultimately be used for this purpose, so long as neither the statement of objects and reasons nor the actual clauses of the bill contain any specific provision that this tax like the railway cess or education cess or water cess is reserved for a particular purpose, it cannot be claimed by anybody that this tax should be utilized only for prohibition.

“ Now, Sir, what is the condition of the country now? After any war particularly after a total war every country has realized that the forces of disorder tend to be on the ascendant. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that to-day in India as in other countries the forces of disorder are certainly on the ascendant. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that the trade has not been keeping quiet in the interval. The trade has anticipated that there would be this move for prohibition as soon as the Congress Ministry came into power. They would no doubt have made arrangements to defeat the purpose of this legislation. Not only that, a dangerous spirit of defiance of law is abroad to-day. We know that. There is no question about it. Life, property—everything—is held more cheaply now than ever before consequent upon the abnormal conditions of the post-war times. I would like the Ministry to realize that. Turbulent elements are on the increase and groups and parties are anxious to create trouble for the Ministry. There is no use of hiding these facts. Therefore in a matter like prohibition we should take cognizance of the practical difficulties of the situation and judge how far it will be possible to achieve our object. Prohibition is a thing which we all welcome. We are all agreed that drink is an evil but as that great patriot saint Swami Vivekananda said, evil is everywhere in the world and like old rheumatism, you drive it from the foot it goes to the head, you drive it from the head it goes somewhere else. It is a question of chasing evil from place to place. It is a question of promoting the temperance habit and weaning the people away from drink gradually but none-the-less effectively. My hon. Friend suggested that as one coming from Kurnool I should be exceedingly glad that prohibition has been introduced there. No doubt I was very glad, but I just thought about Kurnool and I wanted to ask: Has my hon. Friend gone to Ramallakotta, Sirvel, Pattikonda or Nandikotkur, where people walk long distances by night and scrape the bottom of deep wells for getting a little water for drinking purposes? Is prohibition the need of the hour in that place or water-supply? Prohibition obviously! At any rate the budget makes it obvious! What the people there gain by prohibition they lose in water-supply. This brings me to the question of priority. It is not that prohibition is not good; nobody can deny it. But I hold to the view that practical politics demand a correct emphasis on the needs of the people. No Government which does not take this into consideration will be a democratic government governing the people in the best interests of the people. The slogan ‘greatest good of the greatest number’ cannot be so easily jettisoned.

“ The Hon. Minister for Public Health, I am sure, would be equally emphatic that prohibition should be the order of the day. But may I present her a few figures regarding vital statistics.

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

Infantile mortality rate in this country is between 175 and 250 whereas it is 31 per 1,000 in New Zealand and 35 in Australia and 58 in England and Wales. We polish off 25 per cent of the children born within the first year. Well may the children exclaim: if we were so soon to be done for, why on earth were we begun for? Is it due to drink? Let me tell you as one who has spent 40 years in this particular line of looking after mothers and children that you will be committing a dangerous mistake and advancing a dialectical argument if you say that drink is responsible for it. Do you know that 50 per cent of the children born die before they reach 10 years? Do you realize what it means to these families? I have realized. Often have we been called in to attend and we have seen parents with tears in their eyes. After all we are human, however much we may be practising medicine. Do you realize that maternal mortality in this country is about 10 times what it is in England and Wales? Does it go home to you and get into your bones and marrow when you realize that these young women in their child-bearing period die like flies uncared for, because they have neither the knowledge nor the facilities to help them to save their own lives?

"I will tell you one or two things that drive men to drink. It is a sort of disease. Sir, the average expectation of life in this country is 26 years. It is 60 to 65 years in European countries. In England where the drink revenue is 400 million pounds it is 60 years. My hon. Friend Dr. Rama Rao whom I have ever since I was a little boy living next door to him and whom I have held in esteem as one of the leaders of the medical profession told us that drink is the greatest cause of disease. I do not know. I say I must begin reading my book again. When he said that drink is the greatest cause of premature death, I thought I must begin once again and try to understand something about vital statistics. Sir, let us not in our over-enthusiasm be carried away when facts are staring us in the face.

"Sir, let me give some more facts with your permission. One hundred million individuals suffer from malaria every year in this country and the mortality is so much as 2,500,000. People may say that some of these may have been drunkards. But, Sir, malaria affects women and children. I know that 99 per cent of the women at any rate are not drunkards and 100 per cent of the children are not drunkards. One hon. Member stated that drink is given even to infants. Well, Sir, there is a limit to fantastic theories. Let me point out again that in 1943, one hundred and twenty thousand people died of cholera. Was that due to drink? Did prohibition save these people? One hundred and twenty thousand lives is nothing for you! Again, Sir, take smallpox. (Dr. U. Rama Rao: 'They are all epidemics.') Anyhow they occur every year. The epidemic of cholera, smallpox, typhoid and various intestinal diseases carry away not tens and hundreds but thousands of people. I ask the House to consider all this. What priority are you going to give as regards prohibition? I do not want to dispute that prohibition is good. If in New Zealand, 100 per cent of the people exclusive of children take to drink, in Australia 105 per cent of the people as it were take to drink and if in Great Britain they do have drink and still

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

have the health conditions which I have described, let me assure you that the conditions in India which I have described are not due to drink and that prohibition will not cure them. Something, much more than prohibition will be required.

" In this connexion, let me tell you how pained I was when some hon. Members used the argument that drink is the thing of the poor, the thing of the members of the scheduled class community to which my hon. Friend here (Mr. H. M. Jagannatham) belongs. Let us not add insult to injury, Mr. President, by saying that drink is the monopoly of certain people or certain communities. If you take statistics you will find that every community including my own will contribute an honourable percentage. The poorer classes may well exclaim to us : Physician heal thyself!

" Sir, in my humble opinion the real reason for this demand for prohibition is the question of the haves and have-nots. We, who are the haves have everything we want; we have decent dwellings, we have education, facilities for employment, good water-supply and if only prohibition will come in, undoubtedly it will save us. There is no question about it. But do you consider why this poor man goes to the grog shop? If I were a village labourer and in the evening if I had to go to a mud hut where an ailing wife and sick child are lying side by side with a cow or buffalo or a bullock, if I had to go to the dirt and the squalor and if I had nothing else to look for except the dark hut with the little dim oil lamp, I would naturally go to the grog shop. People may say : Oh, the house would be much better if the man did not spend his money on drink. I say, Sir, it will not be better and I know that unless more active steps are taken by the Government it will not be better. My plea, therefore, is not that you should scrap prohibition but that you should lay well and truly those foundations on which prohibition will succeed. If you only spend the whole of these sales taxes in the next five years in improving the condition of these people and make it more possible for them to think of a happy home to go to, I have no doubt that the results will be far more commensurate with your efforts. I do not thereby suggest that there should not simultaneously be a programme of temperance. I would plead with hon. Members that there may be a rationing of drink. Rationing has come to stay. Then why not ration drink for the time being? Why not you say that only a ration-card holder can get drink in the grog shop? You may even say that they must sign their names and have their photographs attached to the ration cards! If this can be done, those who abuse the thing will be more easily discovered, both the person who abuses the ration card and the person who sells the liquor to the wrong person.

" Sir, I know my views on this subject are freakish and they will be torn to pieces in the press, but I have the consolation that I have discharged my duties by those who have nobody to give utterance to their thoughts—the poor children and the mothers and the unfortunate victims of many of our epidemic diseases for which I find no provision in this budget.

" Mr. President, if I may take a few minutes more, I should like to refer to the fact that prohibition will lead to many crimes.

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

In Kurnool, of which I happen to know a little, I can say that feudal troubles will be on the increase and will not be lessened. I know the sort of people there; they will easily resort to crime and foist it on the poor.

“Coming to the sphere of Public Health and Medicine, my hon. Friends, Dr. Rajan and Col. K. R. K. Iyengar, have already spoken about the subject and I purposely refrain from saying much about it because it is a subject which will carry me too long. I do wish to remind hon. Members that whenever a practitioner of what is known as the scientific system of medicine says anything about the indigenous systems, he is at once put down as a suspect and the impetus to go ahead with experiments increases with the manner in which we try to give expression to our honest convictions. If we were more selfish, we would like these experiments to go on, for we would be the beneficiaries of the scheme. But I tell you frankly that it is not so. Whatever may be the future of the indigenous systems of medicine, I do not know much about it and I shall, therefore, express no opinion about it. But I want to tell the Hon. Minister one thing: if the present tendency to lump in the two systems is encouraged, it will certainly not lead to the results which she anticipates. By all means encourage Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani systems of medicine. If you want to see something good in them being explored further, get those who are qualified in the modern system of medicine to come and join these colleges and give their services. Give them gazetted appointments, I do not mind. But I do want to say that the mixing up of these two in the manner in which it is sought to be done cannot be productive of the results that you anticipate. As has been said by the poet:

‘A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring.’

It is on that principle that we welcomed the move of the late Minister for Public Health when he abolished the Licentiate Course in this Presidency. It was the best move from the point of view of evolution of the modern system of medicine.

“Sir, I am glad that the Hon. Minister has been opening medical colleges in several places and I am very glad that she is opening a college at Guntur. But I wish to utter a word of warning. Do not, Madam, create the problems that arose out of the Vizagapatam Medical College by precipitately opening colleges without giving the necessary facilities. I know my hon. friends, the Andhras, and it is no criticism when I say that they are extremely temperamental. The result of a great deal of criticism and a great deal of agitation will be an inefficient medical college. You may have strikes and various other demonstrations. I know the difficulties of equipping a medical college either with the material or more particularly with the staff. I would beg of the Hon. Minister to take proper note of its requirements. While therefore, I welcome the addition of a medical college there and one at Madura, which by the by has not yet been recognized by the Madras University, I would beg of her to see to it that these colleges are equipped in a manner which will satisfy the minimum requirements laid down by constituted authorities.

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

“ Mr. President, I see from the budget that a magnificent sum of Rs. 30 lakhs has been provided for rural water-supply for the whole Presidency. I am glad, but I wish it were a mere token amount. But an actual budget grant of Rs. 30 lakhs for the supply of water for the whole Presidency is, I can only say, not a thing which we are most interested in. I would also suggest a reorientation in the policy with regard to water-supply. The Public Works Department is like a frog in the well; it knows only about this Presidency. Most of the people there have not gone abroad. They do not know how to give rural water-supply to the people and how to give the amenities of clean, pure water and so on to the people. May I tell the House that for the town of Liverpool, the source from which water-supply is received is 300 miles away in Wales. The Liverpool Municipality has built a huge channel which not only supplies Liverpool but various other places also. Sir, to-day, the whole system of digging wells for each village is an anachronism in this century. You must take a long-term view; you must have engineers who know what they are talking about and who have had practical experience. It is only in that way you will be able to afford some relief to the rural population.

“ In regard to housing, it has been said that the Government are going to control house rents. With what effect? The landlords will not put up any more houses. The position of housing will become worse. Therefore your remedy is not the real remedy. Find out the cause of why there is not an adequate supply of houses. How did the other nations solve similar problems? How did Vienna do it? There the Government started a programme of construction of 400,000 houses immediately after the last war. I know what a magnificent set of buildings they were and what kind of social amenities the people had. If you want that this should be understood and appreciated in the manner in which it ought to be then I suggest once again and respectfully that all these things should be looked at from the long range point of view, from the point of view of the ultimate aim and attended to as expeditiously as possible.

“ Well, Sir, there is another subject to which I want to refer namely the Industrial Finance Corporation. As I have said, it is a matter about which I cannot speak with any authority, and I do not believe in meddling with a subject which I am not competent to deal. But there is one thing which I find most of these people are busy about—either making easy profit or giving loans. Yes, Sir, loans are being given to-day in a variety of places. Although it is suggested that Government should give loans, very little of the loan is given by the Government. The money-lender is busy from Cape Comorin to Waltair, from my own place of Kurnool right up to Mangalore and from Tondi on the east coast. If you care for the poor, the first thing that the Government should do is to bring in a Money-lenders' Bill as they have done in the Hyderabad State. These people who come from Northern India—very good friends, no doubt—come from a very small place called Shikarpur. By virtue of the freemasonry which exists among them they are able to get loans from

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

banks at cheap rates of interest, not more than 3 per cent. There is no security demanded except the paper security. The fraternity stands by each other and if unfortunately one money-lender is not able to repay, the others subscribe and repay because they make huge profits. What is the rate of interest which these Multanis and the Kabulis charge? Nine per cent? No, twelve per cent? No, twenty or twenty-five per cent? Yes. And how do they get back these loans? I shall draw a veil about the picture of how the loans are repaid by these poor and ill-paid people. Taking note of all these things, the Hyderabad State has recently passed a legislation—please do not think that I have already become a Mulki or a Hyderabadi for quoting Hyderabad so often, but I refer to it because I feel sure it should be brought to the notice of the House. No non-Mulki or non-Hyderabadi who is a native money-lender will be permitted in future to carry on the business of money-lending in the Dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. This is one of the important amendments which have been made to the five-year old Money-lending Act; ‘Mulki’ is a term applied to a subject of the State. Another amendment makes it cognizable offence to carry on the profession of money-lending without a licence. Such an offence has been made punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may be extended to six months or with fine or with both. The punishment for molestation of a debtor—that is what I want to emphasise here—has been raised up to two years’ rigorous imprisonment with the alternative of fine or both. The rate of interest has been decreased from 9 per cent to 6 per cent in the case of secured loans and from 12 per cent to 9 per cent in the case of unsecured loans. The Government hope that these amendments will afford adequate relief.

“ I commend that Act to the Hon. the Minister as a most urgent piece of legislation in the interests of the poor for whom all these various Acts are contemplated.

“ Sir, my Hon. Friend the Minister in charge of Law and Justice is perhaps dispensing justice elsewhere, but I should like to point out to him that his ideas of separation of judiciary and executive are excellent and generally welcome, but people are not altogether satisfied with the manner in which he proposes to get expert opinion. Lawyers generally imagine, Sir, that there are no good people anywhere else in the world, and the result of it is that all the members of this special committee are members of the legal profession, not only that, they are very eminent people, I have nothing to say against any of them, but when you are trying to understand the subject of separation of the judiciary from the executive, Mr. Theobald and myself may come into the picture as much as anybody else. There must be people who know something of the effect of this, the people who will be affected by the separation of the judiciary and the executive. It is done with a view to promote more even-handed justice, not that justice is not even-handed; and it is therefore necessary that you should have on such a committee other elements besides the legal element. I was surprised that they did not even think of

7th August 1946] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

those very officers who are exercising the dual function of the judiciary and the executive. The District Judge does not exercise that function and he is the only person, if I speak correctly, who knows something about the events about which my friend Mr. Ramanathan Chettiyar spoke so eloquently yesterday. Why not they find a place, could they not tell this committee their own ideas or give expression to their views as to what may be the difficulties or the manner in which these proposals should be adumbrated? I only suggest that in all these cases, it is better to have a wider horizon and a wider outlook than to concentrate on the little pool which immediately presents itself before our eyes.

I now come to the Hon. Minister for Local Administration. Sir, I am very glad that the Hon. the Minister proposes to have increased powers given to the local bodies; but I want to make this clear that those powers will not be executive powers. Sir, local bodies have not figured so well in this province, and even in other parts, where mere tax-payers can at once become warm-hearted about any increase in the powers of the local bodies, unless you make it quite clear that every municipal councillor is not the executive head of the municipality or even of his own division, unless you make it clear that it is not the duty of a municipal councillor to mix himself with what may be called the details of municipal administration, municipal administration will not work well. And here (let me say with what a shock I read in the newspapers that the chairman and other executive officers of a municipal employees association were themselves Corporation Councillors of Madras, and they waited on deputation on the Commissioner! This is all topsy-turvy and wrong from top to bottom. A councillor that has to decide whether these employees are to get increased wages or not becomes himself a member of that Employees' Association and goes about carrying on agitation and appears before the Commissioner of the Corporation! My knowledge of local bodies is nothing. I am speaking as an unknown citizen of this city and I ask the Hon. the Minister to calmly consider whether that is the state of affairs which he should encourage in local bodies. I do believe that local bodies must have more powers, but the counter must always be there. Even as I believe that we in the Legislature are merely to legislate, we have forgotten that I am afraid—I was not present at the time of the Food discussion the other day—and I would have raised, if I was present, my feeble voice of protest against the Government which sought to get the congress councillors or other members of the Legislature on the various committees exercising executive functions. Let us not forget that there are as many fish in the sea as there are outside; that we do not exhaust all the available talent in regard to patriotism or love of service and that it will be much better for us to restrict ourselves to the duties of a Legislature rather than try to interfere with the executive when they can do the work better and subject themselves to a greater amount of control by us. There is a great danger to democracy when you yield to the temptation of allowing your partymen or your Opposition members to take more of the

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

executive action than they ought to. I have nobody in view, Sir, let me perfectly frankly say that I mean no reflection upon any member. It is the system that is going to lead to very dangerous consequences. Against it, at this early stage, I wish to raise a voice of protest.

"I have finished, Sir. I am exceedingly grateful to you for giving me this indulgence, but I do want to make an appeal to the members opposite. They have been returned, and very rightly, to power in this House; we welcome them. But I want the Ministry to realize that it is a ministry of the province, I want the party in power to realize that the Government of this province is to be carried on by a legislature inclusive of all elements and I beg of them to note that those who stand and wait also serve; let there not be a class prejudice; you have won your elections, we congratulate you; we congratulate you on your magnificent success, but remember, Sir, unity in essentials, diversity in non-essentials and charity above all and in everything, should be the guiding factor, and God willing, may this Legislature function well."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR:—
"Mr. President, Sir, I have thought it necessary to intervene in the debate just now. Criticisms have been levelled against the Education department. We thought it was sufficient for the Hon. the Premier generally . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"I do not know if any charges have been made; I think you may intervene at a later stage."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR:—
"I must congratulate, Sir, the previous speaker who has just sat down on his very excellent speech . . ."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"Is it a matter of explanation or a reply?"

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR:—
"I am replying. I must at once give the previous speaker the same warning, Sir, which he gave to the Ministry, that his enthusiasm should not carry him away from facts; he has rushed to conclusions, he has come with a big thunder-bolt. He said that we have made a very violent and radical departure from what was done by the previous Ministry. Let me tell him, Sir, 'Yes, this change has been made,' but whom has it affected and for what reason it has been made? There are people talking different languages, small minorities or groups of fives and tens in the City and it has been said that if the principle is overtly laid down that the mother-tongue is to be the language of the medium of instruction, then everybody who does not belong to the region, whether the number of students of that community speaking another language is one or two or five, must be provided for by the State. I ask him, Sir, he is wise and he knows administration, whether it is possible and administratively practicable to provide in every place, whatever may be the strength of the students speaking the language, to provide medium of instruction through the mother-tongue. You may make the rule, but it will be broken at every

7th August 1946] [Hon. Sri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar]

step, I may assure you, because it is absolutely impossible for any State to provide in a place instruction in the mother-tongue if the strength of the community is five or a dozen. The principle may be there; when we are carried away by enthusiasm in peroration, it is easy to lay down laws; but they have to be administered and put into effect."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Sir, am I wrong in stating that the Hon. Minister was not able to see eye to eye even with those managements, who said they would run their own schools provided they were allowed to teach the language of the people? "

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—" I wish, Sir, that eminent gentleman like him would check up the facts first before rushing to . . . "

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" The Hon. Minister said "Yes," and that is why I wanted to know if I was wrong, because my information was. . . "

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—" He may know, Sir, for his information as well as the information of the House that I stated in the other House—and I also said it yesterday here—that if groups of people with different languages and with a sufficient population, claim exemption from this rule and say then can make their own arrangements to give education through the medium of their language, I said we would concede it and would consider it. If I may say so, we have already considered all those things and exemptions have been given."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" 'Concede' or 'conceive' ? " (Laughter.)

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—" If I may proceed, Sir, to talk that he would have been a rickshaw-puller, were it not that education was given to him in English in Kurnool. . . "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think the member said 'cart-driver' not a rickshaw-puller." (Laughter.)

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Sir, I should like to ask the Minister whether the Government are to make arrangements for study in the vernacular or the people themselves; I would like to ask him how many Malayalees are in the City."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I request the hon. Member may be allowed to proceed."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—" I know it; the other day, a deputation of Malayalees came to me and said that Tamil and Telugu having been made the regional language in Madras, it was only just that they should get instruction in their own mother-tongue. I told them that the Government do not conduct secondary and elementary schools direct, except a very few of them; that the management and the local boards are there to serve the needs of the people and if any locality has got sufficient number of Malayalee children, they can be

[Hon. Sri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar] [7th August 1946]

gathered into a class, where instruction can be given through Malayalam, in such cases orders have been issued to the effect that it was open for the management to organize classes through the medium of Malayalam. The claims of Kannada have also been put forward and I have told the members that the city being a place where there may be quite a large number of Kannada population, if they can all be gathered together justifying a Kannada class, that would also be conceded.

"Now, Sir, I come to Hyderabad. I wish even here the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor had understood better. I am sorry both his statements were wrong; I do say that what the hon. Member said about Hyderabad is wrong, and it is testified to by the facts that were given by the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor himself to-day. I say that facts are quite clear and it is not for me to say anything more just now. I do wish that the eminent gentleman should not be carried away by his enthusiasm, to misunderstand facts and set about on a wrong basis."

"Now, Sir, I would like to say a word about the Engineering College. I welcome every word that he has said. In fact he knows everything because I have had talks with him on this subject, and we are tending towards the same view. It is absolutely necessary that our education should keep pace with the necessities of the situation and the necessities of the industrialization, and that the students must have practical training. He wanted Government help. Let me assure him, Sir, that wherever it is necessary, our help will be forthcoming to the fullest extent in this direction. He talked about the position of the South Indians in Bombay, so that he could make an appeal to me. I may tell him it is not absolutely necessary. If we are going to give exemptions for people to use their own mother-tongue as medium if they are in sufficient numbers, I do not see any reason why the same thing should not apply in other places. It is just the same thing that is happening in Bombay."

"I do not like, Sir, to take up more of the time of the House; I would only request hon. Members here present as well as elsewhere not to rush to conclusions but always to kindly check up facts. I will give them this assurance also; that I am anxious to take all people along with me; I am anxious to take advice, it is of course beyond me to promise to accept such advice, but let me tell you that I am anxious to get the advice of all who can give it. A charge has been made that we have been talking too much rather than doing. It is time we take up the matter in earnest. The Government propose to take up the matter and hope that all your views and your co-operation will be forthcoming. The Government are anxious to get your views and your co-operation in this matter. I told the other House the other day and I hope the Members here would have seen it in the papers, that a questionnaire is going to be shortly issued, so that we may elicit public opinion on the proposals. We are anxious that we should have your views and your co-operation and as I said, I hope it will be forthcoming in the fullest degree."

7th August 1946]

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" May I suggest to the hon. Member the advisability of issuing a Press Communiqué on this question in order to clarify the view of the Government and to enlighten the public, and in particular to say what is to be done in the case of those who had unfortunately adopted English as the medium of instruction."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR :—" This is a matter, Sir, on which clear orders have been passed, that those who have been taught in English in the Fourth form will not have to change up to the Sixth Form."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I still think it will carry greater appeal to the people if a Press Communiqué in this respect is issued."

* SRI K. VENKATASWAMI NAYUDU :—" Mr. President, Sir, we are very thankful to the Hon. the Minister for Education for elucidating this point which has been agitating the minds of people in different parts of the Province. One more request I would make to him is this : many children are now in different schools and I know personally, as some of my children are in a school where Telugu is not taught. I would request the Minister in such cases to give the children facilities for this year so as to adjust their studies in such a way that they will not find that one year is wasted, that such children may be asked to answer in Telugu and their papers corrected, so that next year we may be able to adjust and the children may be sent to other schools. I know, Sir, in all transitional times there is bound to be some difficulty and I hope the Minister will be able to see to this matter, so that young children may not have to sacrifice much during this transition period.

" Mr. President, Sir, the Vice-Chancellor as a great orator, has baffled us by his speech on prohibition. He asks why is it that high priority is given to prohibition. He has said that so many things have to be done, why not others, and why this alone. That is what he said. Sir, we have deeply thought over the matter and have thought the fundamental disease of drink evil must go before the poor can be made to rise, and that is why a high priority is given to prohibition. It is a well-known fact that in this country where there is so much of poverty, much money is wasted on drink. It may be very good in England where a man can earn any amount of money; but in India the poor man cannot make both ends meet. It is not possible for him to spend any money on drink. That is why we wanted the Government to eradicate the evil of drink as early as possible. I know if this is taken up now, surely the country will rise and other benefits will accrue from that in due course. That is why, Sir, this high priority is given to prohibition, and I am thankful to the Hon. the Premier for having extended it from four to eight districts. Only yesterday we voiced the feelings of the City Council that the City of Madras should be the first place where prohibition should be introduced. I hope at least next year, if it is not possible this year, the City

[Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu] [7th August 1946]

will have prohibition, and Madras will be included in the districts which will have prohibition next year. It is not likely we will have much of trouble here, and we can easily have it introduced in the City.

Then, Sir, there is another matter on which I have to lay special stress. I read with a great deal of pain the Hon. the Prime Minister's statement about temple surplus funds when he indicated the policy which the Government intend to pursue in regard to education. Sir, he said that several religious endowments have surplus funds regarding the use of which there is no settled policy, and that the Government would take necessary steps to ensure that all such surplus funds were used for education, by the opening of new institutions. Mr. President, Sir, we do not know now these temple funds can be taken. I know that in the last Adviser regime, temples were not allowed to spend money on various necessary items of expenditure. On the other hand, large surpluses were asked to be accumulated in order to put money into the War Fund. I do not know how much in lakhs was so given, but temples have been starved of lakhs of rupees which were given to the War Fund. I do not want that this Government should continue that policy of depleting the temple funds and divert them for expenditure on education instead of on the temples themselves. Sir, the pride of South India is its temples and to-day if South India is great, it is because of these temples and because of the great architecture, the great sculpture, the great arts and other things which abound in these temples. And if people from all over the world come to see South India, it is because of its temples, and the temple culture and the temple towns are the pride of our South India. But to-day, Sir, we find that temples are going to ruins and these great monuments are going to ruins. I know there is an Archaeological department which takes special care of old and ancient monuments, but the big monuments of the temples are not cared for at all. These temples are not looked after; many of these temples are going to ruins. These great works of art must be maintained and resuscitated. Besides, there are a number of things over which we have to spend money. I find these temples are now asked to accumulate funds with a view to their being spent on other purposes. Sir, I may say I am not against education. We are putting a number of taxes with a view to meet the expenditure on education. Nobody will give taxes unless education is given on proper lines. But why, I ask, should these temples be denied their own funds and asked to accumulate them for being spent on educational purposes. Mr. President, Sir, the Tirupathi temple funds were diverted recently for the establishment of a college. Was there no money for the Government to have a college in Tirupathi? The funds of the temple of Lord Sri Venkatesa were taken away and given to a school where communists are asked to read. Sir, a Godless man is given temple funds for his Godless education, but I ask, why should he receive education from God's money? Sir, there are many ways in which temple funds can be utilized. In the former days there was religious propaganda and a lot of temple funds was asked for the

7th August 1946] [Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu]

purpose. Propagandists were asked to go from place to place and speak about religion, paintings were made and important sayings of seers and saints were written up on temple walls. Schools were attached to temples educating pupils regarding the *agamas* and other religious thlorengs. There were schools also of arts and crafts attached to these temples; but to-day, Sir, I do not know why it is that these propagandists have been stopped. The writings and printings on the temple walls have been stopped. If real education is to be given from out of these temple funds; I say it must be given on the lines on which these various treasures of the temples will improve. We have got arts and crafts, temple towns, good town-planning schemes in the temple towns round about the temples—all these things are not now looked after; the temple funds can very well be devoted for such purposes. I would beg of the Hon. the Premier not to divert this money for educational purposes but leave it to be spent on the purposes for which it was given.

“ Mr. President, as a man of the Madras City, I would request the Government to do something for the City Corporation. The city attracts people from the whole Province; every man from the districts has to come here for one reason or other; people come for the hospitals in the City and for many other purposes, but they do not pay a pie for it. The whole burden falls on the City man. It is therefore necessary that the Government must come to the rescue of the Corporation. The City Improvement Trust has been formed; it is a still-born child. I do not know what its existence is going to be like. I would request the Hon. Prime Minister to place large funds at the disposal of the Trust if it is to be a reality. The City is now 60 square miles in area while formerly it was only 30 square miles. If the City is to be really improved, it requires large funds which the citizens alone cannot bear. It is therefore necessary that Government must come to the rescue if only on the ground that the whole population of the Province come to the City for getting various benefits and to enjoy the amenities afforded here. We do not of course grudge them these benefits, but we only say that the Government which is responsible for the whole Province must give large funds to make the City as healthy and decent as possible.

“ Mr. President, Sir, I understand that the milk-supply which was being made to the citizens of Madras is being slowly reduced. I do not know why in these days of starvation and pestilence, this already small milk-supply should be slowly stopped. Little children, school-going children, expectant mothers and other people who are in a very bad state of health require a large supply of milk and I think the Government was wise in giving milk to those people who were most in need of it. I do not think it will be right to discontinue the supply of milk till these famine conditions disappear. I would request the Government to see that the milk-supply is continued to the City and is not stopped until conditions improve.

[Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu] [7th August 1946]

"In Madras, Sir, the co-operative department is very well organized, and there is no difficulty in getting adequate supply of milk. During the war, when there were so many military units in the city, plentiful supply of milk was available. Even to-day we can get any amount of milk.

1-15 p.m. "Sir, so many subsidies are given for famine or on other considerations and this must also be considered as a subsidy given to these poor persons of the City, so that this milk may be made available to these poor people. I have nothing more to say. I am very glad to congratulate the Hon. the Chief Minister on having a good budget this year and especially on the question of village reconstruction and the Harijan Uplift he has taken a bold step to see that some start is made. I wish him the best of success on these two very important schemes that he has started this year."

* MRS. MONA HENSMAN :—"Mr. President, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to put forward a few remarks and I will not take much of your time, because I know many more hon. Members are waiting for their turn. But, in the matter of a budget there is a very general feeling that every member should participate and I thank you for giving me an opportunity to do this. The general remarks that have been passed in this House apply over and over again to the same subjects, but I think, there is still room for me to make a few remarks sideways and edgewise.

"First about prohibition, Sir, we have been told that woman and children will rejoice when prohibition is introduced and I believe it. I congratulate the Ministry on doing what they think is right and that is extending prohibition to areas where they think it should be extended. I would first remind this House of that Prohibition Act passed at 10 minutes to 12 at night on the 30th of September 1937—I think it was rather in a rush. I myself remember pleading about, I think, it was clause 13, but, whatever the number of the clause may be, I would ask the Ministry and the Premier in particular to see if he could amend that Act to eliminate that particular clause. The clause referred to has nothing to do with the amount of drink, with numbers or the statistical values; but it affects woman and children. If I remember it rightly, it says that any member of the Prohibition Committee, without a warrant—if there is time to get a warrant even they can save time if they need not get it—might enter a house that is suspected of having drink, break open the doors or windows and go through into the private rooms. That was the clause, believe it or not, that held me from giving my whole-hearted support to that Bill. How can any woman give support to a bill that might be endangering the personal and private safety of any citizen. India is the same as any other place. Sir, we are given second class, third class and first class for women only into which even the Viceroy cannot come even though there be empty seats. If we are going to respect women in public life, I do ask that an amendment may be made to this Prohibition Act,

7th August 1946] [Mrs. Mona Hensman]

so that men and women will all be able to accept prohibition as it stands.

"Then, Sir, with regard to education. Much has been said about education—instruction in the mother-tongue, Regional language and so on. But, I wish to put the point of view of the teacher. Teachers are not society butterflies. They have no time for dressing themselves up and going to a public resort or place of public amusement. So the public is hardly aware of their existence. The teacher of to-day is paid as she was paid in 1932. Sir, in 1932, money went further when servants were available, food did not need to be got by queuing up with ration cards, whereas the teacher of to-day has her family, whether she lives with her husband or not, she has to spend three-fourths of her time on work not concerning her teaching profession. Her salary does not cover her soap and her dhoby bill, let alone food. That was not perhaps in the forefront of the payments to be made when this budget was prepared, but I ask you that when a supplementary budget is prepared—I believe, it may be necessary—to see that teachers are paid at least a fair basic wage. One rupee a day may be given to each man or woman teacher who teaches the boy. When I was in Britain, I read a book on knowledge. Knowledge has no end; Sir, we all know that; we have the thirst for knowledge in this House and in all corners and on all premises. It also said that until the human being has been able to provide for the physical needs of himself and the family, there can be no real thirst or search for knowledge. Surely a teacher must be able to be awake, he should see current newspapers—he cannot afford even that—and where is the time for the woman teacher to have these advantages for all these under present conditions, apart from doing house work and getting the food for the family? Sir, I need say no more about that subject. I leave it to the better feelings of the party in power to know that the nation realises that even the statesman has to learn what he learns from some teacher or other. The nation rises as the teacher rises and with the fall of the teacher, the nation falls.

"Then, Sir, what about these grants. I know of aided schools where the Government provides half the amount of dearness allowance. That is done at the end of the year. Where are the teachers to go for that aid and for that war allowance during the year they teach? The dearness allowance should be Rs. 16 for every teacher having a salary under Rs. 20. At the end of the year, the management gets Rs. 8 for each teacher as part of the dearness allowance. That will work out to Rs. 96 at the end of the year. What is she to do before that? And how many aided schools pay the teacher the other Rs. 5 per month? I would plead with the Government—since the war was an act of God and circumstances were beyond the control of the teacher—that has raised the necessity for the cost of the food to go up and house-rent, etc., to go up, to provide the whole of the dearness allowance for the teacher.

"And then think of the crores that are going to be saved from drink. Could not some of that money go in furtherance of the education scheme on scholarship or something for the future that will

[Mrs. Mona Hensman]

[7th August 1946]

lead teachers and statesmen on towards a better India. Again I would ask you to look at the question of technical administration. Our children, we have heard, are not able to do very much because they have not the necessary facilities. What about the rural districts? We have got so much to be done for people who are not perhaps graduates but technically trained. Then in regard to water-supply, protected water-supply, I know the Minister for Public Health is more earnest than any one of us to get sufficient amounts and sufficient material to promote this protected water-supply. The water-supply that is now being used in the districts is only fit for breeding disease, and for promoting epidemics in this country. I had the fortune, good or bad, once to go on a tour up from Cape Camorin up to Vizianagaram. I have found that in the villages water-supply was not sufficient. I have found there is no way by which people can keep clean. They go to the river with their clothes on for purposes of bathing but they cannot bring back that water for domestic purposes. I would ask for protected water-supply, chiefly under the rural reconstruction scheme.

"Sir, I know it is time for lunch. I may not ask for your indulgence to continue my speech after lunch. But I would like to deal with the food question, especially in the matter of rationing. There is a very strong propaganda going on in respect of substitute foodstuffs and people are given many recipes. Government is giving demonstrations and trying to teach people the relative merits of vitamins and non-vitamins. But I would ask for a more valuable drive in the matter of substitute foodstuffs. There is no use at all telling people how to use sweet-potatoes or ground-nuts, because they have a popular prejudice against the use of those articles in any large quantities. But, I was in a college which prepares some recipes for maize and wheat and preparation of things that to-day in ordinary life require neither ghee nor condiments.

"Much has been said about regional language: I do not mean English. It was said by Burke, after another great war and after another great famine, the first thing that the Government should do is to give the people information; the next thing is timely coercion—the one to guide our judgment, the other to regulate our tempers. Of all things, an indiscreet tampering with the trade of provisions is the most dangerous and it is always worst at a time when men are most disposed to it: that is, at a time of scarcity, because there is nothing on which the passions of men are so violent and their judgment so weak, and on which there exists such a multitude of ill-founded popular prejudices. The great use of Government is as a restraint and there is no restraint which it ought to put upon others and upon itself too than that which is imposed on the fury of speculating under circumstances of irritation. To provide for us in our necessities is not in the power of Government. It would be a vain presumption in statesmen to think they can do it. The people maintain them and not they the people. It is in the power of Government to prevent much evil.

"With these few words, Sir, I will close my remarks."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 2-30 p.m. the same day.

7th August 1946]

After lunch—(2-30 p.m.)

* SRI M. D. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I crave the indulgence of the House to permit me to use my notes. We are all aware of the fact that the present Ministry has undertaken to run the Government at a time when the food problem is so very acute and to add to it, the strike fever is spreading like wild fire in every direction. Unless they hasten to look to the wants of those in difficulties, we are at a loss to know where it will end. Almost every member who spoke emphasized on the point and I also strengthen their hands and appeal to the Chief Minister not to postpone the grant of increased salary. The cost of living has become so high. A machine if not properly oiled is bound to go out of order very soon.

“ Coming to the question of dearness allowance to teachers, the standard of allowance given by the Government to teachers and others are not uniform and the entire deficit in this direction must be entirely met by the Government. Sir, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar elaborately dealt with the question of dearness allowance and the poor salary paid to the teachers. I appeal to the Minister once again to do his best in the matter. I am sure that these items may well be spent from the block grant of four crores of rupees.

“ So far as the block grant is concerned, I have only to say that the Government will be well advised to let everyone know their programme in the matter of disposal of the same instead of setting apart a lump sum without a regular scheme.

“ The question of fuel in this Province has become a very big problem. As for foodgrains, season after season, we will be producing them for our requirements in some degree but **what to do** without fuel. Almost all available trees in various parts have been removed. The stock has almost come to an end and it will take a few more years for us to grow and cut again. Even now there is loud complaint that on account of indiscriminate disafforestation in private areas, there has been failure of monsoon.

“ Government also cannot go on indiscriminately cutting trees from forests for fuel purposes. I appeal to the Minister to take early steps to grow more fuel trees all over the country side with a definite programme. If we go at this rate, I am at a loss to know where we will be stranded.

“ The question of bifurcation, amalgamation and abolition of taluk boards has been the chess-play from time to time. We are all having the evil effects of it. When the taluk board was in existence, it was a compact one. Each member representing his area was able to do some good or other during his period of membership and though some were in his own interests, it was for the good of the village also in general.

“ Village roads were limited. Schools were also few in the taluks. Water-supply to a certain extent was attended to with efficiency. They were also able to provide rural dispensaries and such other amenities though with some difficulty.

[Sri M. D. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar]

[7th August 1946]

“ After the abolition of taluk boards, the attention paid is very little. All the available funds soon after the taluk boards had been abolished were taken by the district boards and district boards cared only to maintain the trunk roads and the marketing roads neglecting totally the village communications. Miles of roads already formed were not properly maintained. When such is the case, new roads were also proposed and the existing cart-tracks were not available for use. So, it is very necessary to give necessary grant for village roads as was done in former days. Inasmuch as most of the roads are taken under the Highways Department, special attention may be paid to improve the village communications early.

“ I appeal to Government to make it possible to introduce water-supply schemes in places where they are absolutely necessary. To depend on the municipality or panchayat boards to do it will not at all be possible except in a few cases. Though in certain places the scheme may be costly, the entire cost must be met by Government in the interests of the public.

“ I am sorry to bring to the notice of the Government that the Health Department is getting slack. To quote an instance, I wish to say this. Courtalam is a sanatorium where people come from all over India especially during June, July, August and September months. More than ten months back malarial infection was suspected. It developed later at very great speed causing a number of deaths. When the matter was brought to the notice of the authorities, they said that they were investigating the same and declared the place ‘ not malarial ’ at one stage because they will be taken to task for neglect of their duty. The fact that there was fever and the fact that there were deaths cannot be disputed. Is it not their duty to find out the real state of affairs and remedy it, if as they say it is not malarial. They have declared that it is malaria only in June and they are taking necessary action to root out the same. I request the Minister for Public Health and Local Administration to kindly take early steps to remedy the defect because people coming from various parts of India will carry the disease back to their respective places. It is the duty of the Public Health Minister to take proper steps early in the matter.

“ As one interested in Borstal schools, I have to bring to the notice of the Minister the following. In the Borstal school, boys are made to get into their room just when it gets dark and they spend the whole night in the room. Some sleep early and wake up at 3 a.m. Others are awake till about 9 or 10 p.m. and wake up in the morning. All the time they are awake, they have to be in the dark room. This will certainly give room for all evil thoughts and their minds will not be at rest. May I therefore suggest that necessary provision be made to provide in every school a big hall or two with lights, capable of holding all the inmates so that they may spend their time there till 9 or 10 p.m. and rest after that. Of course during the time they stay in the hall, they may be spending it in various recreations such as indoor games. This will give them sound sleep and will also make them free from all evil thoughts.

7th August 1946] [Sri M. D. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar]

"I do not propose to deal with Prohibition as I have my own doubts whether it will be a success. Even in the party, there seems to be divided opinion and let it take its own course. On the whole, Prohibition is for the good of the country.

"Regarding the question of Irrigation, Tank Restoration Scheme has again to be introduced and urgent repairs have got to be undertaken only by Government instead of saying 'Carry on the work as kudimaramat.' Most of the tanks are getting silted up as a result of this, and very soon there will be difficulty for storage of water in the tanks. Capacity is getting reduced year after year. Breaches occur resulting in failure of crops. The monsoon is failing every now and then and at a time when water can be stored, the tank will not hold the same. Silt clearance in tanks is very necessary.

"One word about the Papanasam Hydro-Electric Scheme. The scheme is intended for electricity purposes. People can get on without light but cannot get on without food. In times of scarcity of water, the reservoir water must be used for irrigation purposes. In the fight between the various heads of departments much time is lost and the crop suffers.

"I hope my suggestions will receive consideration at the hands of the Ministers-in-charge of the respective portfolios."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Mr. President, Sir, I agree with the last observation made by the previous speaker, that the Ministers concerned should take into consideration the points he raised in his speech. But all the Ministers concerned are not here. Before I deal with the budget proper, I would like to mention that it is only courtesy that the majority of the Ministers at least are present in this House when we are discussing the budget. Sir, we have 13 Ministers and only three of them are present here. (The Hon. Sri T. Prakasam : 'I represent all'.)

"Sir, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar said in the forenoon that the teaching and the medical professions will not go on strike but I want to add one more group who will not go on strike and that group is the members of this House. We want to co-operate with the Ministers and tell them what we think of the budget, but it is not possible for the press to publish in full the speeches that are made by the members and even if it were possible for the press to publish them, there is no time for Ministers to read them. Sir, you are here to protect the rights and privileges of the members of this House and we hope that you will see that the Ministers are present in the House. Otherwise, it is sheer waste of time and the co-operation which we members of this House offer to them is no co-operation."

MR. PRESIDENT.—"I think the Hon. the Premier feels that he is representing the entire Government. If hon. Members are very keen, I have no objection to desire all the thirteen of them to be here."

[7th August 1946]

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ This House has no power of voting supplies on demand or give notice of cut motions. So the only occasion that members of this House have of making representations or remarks on the working of any department, is the general discussion of the budget by this House. I, therefore, think it is very necessary that all the Hon. Ministers should be present. True, Sir, the Hon. the Premier has been gracious to take upon himself the burden on behalf of all the Ministers. But in a case such as Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar referred to, namely, the administration of the Borstal schools, had the Minister-in-charge been present, the difficulty would have been easily set right. I think, Sir, all Hon. Ministers should be present at least for these three days.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Let me tell hon. Members that I am going to reply on behalf of all the Ministers. In the critical times that we are in, I regret to say it is not possible for them to give all their time to Council business as they have equally important work to attend to. This is the procedure that was followed in connection with the discussion of the budget in the other House. I took notes of the points raised during the course of the debate and notes in reply were sent to me from every department and these formed the basis of the reply of the Government. After all, Sir, there is no rule saying that the Hon. Ministers should invariably be here. Their absence from the House is due to urgent and pressing work elsewhere.”

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ This may be all right in ordinary circumstances. Supposing any question is raised about the medical department or any technical department, unless the Minister handling the subject and is in charge of that portfolio is present, I do not think it will be so easy for the Hon. the Premier, however capable he might be, to answer the points. Therefore, Sir, if and when business allows it, I would request the Hon. the Premier through you, that all Ministers may be present in the House.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I am sure, after the expression of the opinion of the House, Hon. Ministers will make it a point to be here except when their absence is unavoidable.”

*** DR. V. K. JOHN :—**“ It is the unanimous opinion of all sections of the House and that is why I raised the question in debate. Thank you, Mr. President, for your suggestion.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ I regret I have to interrupt the hon. Member. I wish to say that there is absolutely no intention of showing any discourtesy to hon. Members on the part of any Minister. I appeal to every hon. Member to presume that it is owing to unavoidable business that any Minister keeps away from here.”

*** DR. V. K. JOHN :—**“ Before I proceed further with the budget proper, I want to dissociate myself emphatically from certain observations made by Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar and Mr. Suryanarayana yesterday. They seemed to express an

7th August 1946]

[Dr. V. K. John]

opinion that there is an ulterior motive behind the agitation for Prohibition carried on by a section of the Congress. Prohibition is so important a matter that the leader of the Congress Party must have given freedom to all members belonging to his party to express their views upon it, not only at private party meeting but at public meetings as well. Prohibition is a question with which Congressmen and non-Congressmen are equally concerned. I attended many meetings where Prohibition was discussed and I sensed a unanimous feeling among those present at these meetings that Prohibition should if possible be introduced in all districts immediately. Nowhere has there been any idea that the agitation was for unseating the Ministers. The feeling of the people on the question of Prohibition is clear and what Sir Lakshmanaswami and Mr. Suryanarayana said does not represent the opinion of all non-Congressmen.

“ Regarding the budget, Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar said that we should not criticize it too much as the Ministers had not sufficient time for its preparation but he was nevertheless the most unsparing critic. I do not think it is reasonable to put forward an excuse that they have had no time and therefore, they presented a budget which is incomplete or unsatisfactory. In other countries, the Opposition which might get into the treasury benches have shadow cabinets and are always ready with their policy and programme.

“ The budget must give expression to the policy which the party in power wishes to pursue. That policy in my humble opinion should have relation to the major problems and the Ministry must have programmes to implement that policy. What are the major problems in this Province as well as in others? The first is poverty; the second is illiteracy; the third is sickness and the fourth is social degradation. Regarding poverty everybody will agree that a large majority of the people of this Province as also of many other Provinces of this country and outside India are poor, half-starved, badly clothed and badly housed and they have the minimum of material comforts. Every day we hear of strikes not only of Government servants, not only by men employed in industry, but even of rickshaw-wallas against the owners of rickshaws. There must be something behind these strikes. The truth is that the employees are all underpaid. Persons who are employed and who are underpaid can resort to strikes to set right their condition. But there is another class of people. There is a large number of persons in this Province who are unemployed and those people cannot go on strikes. Now, I ask whether the Congress Ministry in power has ever thought of tackling the problem of unemployment. In all civilized countries, the Government in dealing with the problem of poverty—and that is one of the essential duties of the Government in power—direct their attention to unemployment. We have seen figures of unemployed published in England and in America, and allowances are given to the unemployed, and old age pensions are part of the scheme of dealing with unemployment. The Ministry in Madras has not at all thought about the unemployed nor have

[Dr. V. K. John]

[7th August 1946]

they made any attempt to take a census of the unemployed. For the employed but underpaid, the Government ought to lay down the principle that one employed in the service of the Government, if he is a married man, should draw no less than Rs. 50 per month. Now, how many employees are there in the service of Government who draw less than a salary of Rs. 50 a month? Do Congress Ministers feel that a married person with a family can get on with less than Rs. 50 per month. I suggest that it is for the Congress Ministry first to see that a standard is set among the employees of the Government, so that every one whether he is a peon or a school teacher or anybody else will not be given less than Rs. 50 a month. Then they should turn their attention to the employees of municipalities, trading concerns and others and see that the wage level and the pay level is so kept that every employee receives at least Rs. 50 a month.

“ It must be realized that the poverty of the masses is due to the wrong economic structure of society, an economic structure which is based on competition and exploitation. If the Congress Ministry have the welfare of the masses before them, the first thing they should do is to destroy this economic structure based on competition and exploitation and to convert that into a structure based on co-operation and service. If that is done and if the Budget is framed for that purpose, then only there will be a Government for the people although it may not be a Government of the people or by the people. The Congress Ministry should constitute a Government for the people. For that end, the first thing they have to deal with is poverty. Poverty cannot be tackled by an economic structure based on competition and exploitation. I do not see that the Russian system is the only system which will solve this problem. There are other ways of dealing with it. I suggest for the consideration of the Ministry that we have village republics, not in the manner that we have panchayats, district boards and municipalities, but real village republics who have various departments like the Department of Agriculture of Industry, of Education and of Social Service. If the Congress would set up such village republics and see that they have various departments looking after the welfare of the people within their jurisdiction, the Government supplying the village republics what they produce themselves such as manure and the distribution thereof at cost price to the agriculturists, then, Sir, the first steps would have been taken.

3 p.m. “ The Government of the province should concern itself with the production of agricultural and industrial implements, and electrical energy on a large scale, road and transport facilities, modern methods of agriculture, credit and marketing facilities irrigation, university education and other matters which the village republics cannot undertake. There should be no exploitation of the masses, no money-lenders and no capitalists, no middlemen and no landlords within the jurisdiction of the village republic. If you have such a village republic it could produce sufficient food and other materials necessary to make the village self-sufficient. And

7th August 1946]

[Dr. V. K. John]

if the Government on their part, would attend to the larger problems, then, Sir, we shall be converting the economic structure into one of service and co-operation, and we shall have done away with exploitation, which in the history of human race we have had for ages, and which we have in India to-day.

“ Now, Sir, dealing with the question that we should not have landlords at all, I suggest to the Hon. Ministers a plan of agrarian reform which was introduced in Germany in 1811 (and then copied in other parts of the world), which was responsible for the great industrial development in Germany in the 19th century. Sir, I made a special study of agrarian reforms in all parts of the world, and I find that the one system which was introduced in Germany is the best that can be introduced in this country. The system is a very simple one and it is best explained by an illustration. You will find that big landlords get annually less than 80 per cent of the rent after deducting expenses for collection and remission which as a matter of practice is given. Now if the landlord is given Rs. 80 out of every Rs. 100 rent which is legally due in two half-yearly instalments by a Government or a co-operative society he will be very very pleased, as he will have no need for agencies for collection, and need not give remissions. Suppose, out of eighty rupees, Rs. 20 is payable to Government as tax. That leaves to the landlord Rs. 60. Now collect from the cultivating tenant sixty rupees to be paid to the landlord, Rs. 20, the tax to be paid to the Government, and Rs. 15 for an annuity fund, which should be invested at five per cent compound interest, and Rs. 2 as collection expenses. If we add this up, we get Rs. 97. The landlord will be given a bond for a sum worth twenty times sixty rupees, which will be Rs. 1,200; and to that bond will be attached all the incidents of the joint Hindu family, if that property belong to a joint Hindu family. I do not want the landlord to be expropriated. Give him a bond for Rs. 1,200 yielding five per cent interest. Collect from the tenant Rs. 60 to be paid to the landlord in the shape of interest on the bond, and let that bond be guaranteed. That is where Government comes in. That guarantee may also be given by the village republic or the co-operative society, so that the landlord will have the best security in the world. If the bond carries five per cent interest payable in two half-yearly instalments, that bond, Sir, will appreciate in value. What is worth Rs. 1,200 will be worth Rs. 1,500 in the market. The sixty rupees to be paid to the landlord is collected by the co-operative society or the village republic. It collects not only the sixty rupees but the twenty rupees to be paid to the Government, fifteen rupees for the annuity fund, which, when invested, will swell to Rs. 1,200 in about thirty years. One rupee invested at five per cent compound interest will become one hundred rupees in thirty-six years. This is a matter of mathematical calculation. If you collect fifteen rupees and invest it at five per cent for 36 years you will get Rs. 1,500. Now you collect from the tenant Rs. 97 out of Rs. 100, and in about thirty years, the cultivator becomes the owner of the land. I am not talking of a visionary scheme. I am speaking of a scheme introduced in Germany and in other parts of the world

[Dr. V. K. John]

[7th August 1946]

and lastly in Ireland. Now what are the advantages? The landlord is at an advantage. He does not lose anything at all. He is not expropriated. He gets a bond. In fact the bond increases in value. It is recognized by all economists that a provision for a perpetual payment of rent is an economic waste. Even in England there is an Act called the Small Holdings Act, 1926, which provides that if a tenant pays fair rent for sixty years he need not pay anything more; he becomes the owner of the land. The tenant will not want thirty years to become the owner of the land. He will pay off the bond much earlier. The primary object of any agrarian reform is to get the largest output from land. In Germany, an estimate was made, and it was found that tenants who were originally given 47 years to pay off the bonds never waited for more than fifteen years, and the land produced thrice the output. After all, agriculture is a human problem, and a tenant will not wait for thirty years to become the owner of the land. He will try to become the owner as early as possible. In Germany where this reform was tried, land produced three times its previous output. For the community at large there is an immense benefit. Every co-operative society was overflowed with money which represented the annuity fund. As years went by there were lakhs and lakhs of marks in every co-operative society. A part of this money was utilised for the improvements of agriculture, but the major portion was invested in industry and in trade. The great industrial expansion in Germany in the latter part of the 19th century was due entirely to this agrarian reform which had the result of releasing the value of the whole of German land. In Malabar there are only 5 or 6 per cent owner-cultivators. The majority of land is held by non-cultivating owners. Now, Sir, why should we not introduce a scheme similar to the one introduced in Germany. Try it in a few districts first as we do in Prohibition. You will find agricultural produce increasing tremendously, and there will be so much money in the village republics. What others have done, have succeeded and benefited. Why should we not try? That is one way of producing foodstuffs in the country.

3-15
p.m.

“ I say this village republic I have in view will produce not only the largest output from the land provided they have no landlords and provided they are assisted by the Government. They will also produce whatever that is required for them, cloth, shoes, oil and anything that is required for the life of the village. There should be an Industries Department for the republic. I ask the Ministers to overhaul all the village panchayats. Convert your panchayat or group of panchayats into one republic. If you have a long-term policy for it, then what you will be doing is changing the economic structure of the society from the present structure based on competition and exploitation into one of co-operation and service. If I support prohibition it is because we to-day are exploiting the masses by taxing the poor and not the rich. It is strange that out of the thirty crores of rupees required as normal expenditure for this Province about fifteen crores of rupees are collected from the poor. Indeed that is the direct result of this economic structure of the society where the few exploit the many

7th August 1946.]

[Dr. V. K. John]

and where the Government of the few are exploiting the masses and collecting nearly half the expenditure of the province from the poor. Sir, this is a great sin. Under the Penal Code if a man commits murder he is hanged. I say this is worse than murder but for which there is no punishment."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"What does the hon. Member propose to do?"

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"By collecting from these people 15 crores, the Government are committing an offence greater than murder. On that ground Prohibition should be supported. You have Prohibition only in a few districts. Why should you collect money from the poor in other districts? I do not say that you must introduce Prohibition because it is unhealthy to drink. I am not competent to express an opinion on it. I do not say that drinking is bad. Drunkenness is bad. If toddy is food you can ration it, as you are accustomed to rationing foodstuffs. [Turning to Dr. Rama Rao.] One doctor says it is no food and another doctor, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar says it is, and doctors always differ. (Laughter.) (An hon. Member: Lawyers also differ.) Unfortunately I am both a lawyer and a doctor. From the very beginning people have been drinking. I cannot personally persuade myself to say drink is an evil. I am a confirmed teetotaler myself. I do not take any alcoholic drinks. But I do not think that drinking can be condemned as an evil. The real evil is that you exploit the many by taxing the poor. An imperialist Government which has been in this country for 150 years, exploited the masses and got from the masses in this Presidency 15 crores of rupees as Abkari revenue. I ask the Congress Ministry to stop collecting this revenue. I ask them to stop collection of this revenue from the poor. The question is how can they balance the budget. Have a graduated scale of sales tax. Merchants were complaining when sales tax was introduced. What happened? In every bill the cost of article to be purchased was put at the top and the sales tax at the bottom. Who pays the sales tax? The men who purchase the goods; and most can afford to purchase them after paying the sales tax. Now for essential articles like foodstuffs which the poor man has to purchase, let there be no sales tax or let there be only a small percentage. For other things like petrol and other luxury articles, you put 5 to 10 per cent as sales tax, and it is only those people who can afford to buy this will have to pay. That will be taxing the rich.

"Now, Sir, I am again on the policy of a National Government, and what the policy of a National Government ought to be? Government should tackle poverty, illiteracy, sickness and social degradation. Have village republics, but I ask the Congress Ministry not to have communal electorates in the village republics, whatever my Muslim friends and others might say. It is because of this wrong economic structure of society that we are divided into communities. If there is no exploitation there is no communalism whatsoever. Communal electorates and communalism in this country was introduced by a foreign Government. But we should

[Dr. V. K. John]

[7th August 1946]

not continue that. I find the Ministers also feel that we must make concession to certain communities, but in my opinion no discrimination should be made against communities. One crore of rupees is allotted in the budget for the uplift of Harijans. I ask 'will a Harijan lose the benefit of this money if he becomes a Christian or a Muslim.' In my view he should not. If he does, there will be discrimination. The one crore which is allotted should be given on the economic basis. A Harijan who yesterday was a Hindu should not lose the benefit of the concession because he became a Muslim or a Christian. If you do that you are discriminating against a community. Then people will say 'look at the Congress Ministry, they are dominated by Hindus.' Even if he is converted into a Muslim or Christian still he remains a Harijan from the economic and social point of view. I emphasize this aspect because the last Congress Ministry deprived Christians, who were Harijans, of the educational advantages and concessions given to Harijans and then Christian leaders had to complain to the Advisers and the Advisers said that the concession was made from an economic point of view and so restored those concessions. I am not speaking on this because I happen to be born a Christian. I take the view that no community, and I have said very often that no minority community, should cast even a shadow between the country and its freedom. At the same time I share the apprehensions which members of minority communities have that on the transfer of power to Indians as a result of the solution of the conflict between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism that power may be exercised by the majority community to the prejudice of the minorities. I do not agree with Mr. Jinnah in his solution by the division of the country into Pakistan and Hindustan but he has expressed the apprehension of the minorities in a manner which has attracted public attention. The one way the majority can solve the problem is not to discriminate against a person because he has changed his religion. I am not a person who believes in proselytization. People are born members of various religious communities—I am born a Christian. But to make a discrimination against a person simply because a man changes his religion is not proper. I am voicing the strong feeling of Indian Christians, particularly Indian Christians in Andhradesa, that this fund for Harijan uplift should go not only to Harijans proper, but also to converts."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I regret to say to the members of the House that I shall have to enforce the rule, if possible, very strictly as regards the time-limit. I am anxious to close the discussions before lunch to-morrow so that Government may have an opportunity to reply to the debate in the afternoon."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" I said, Sir, earlier that all should co-operate, and therefore I sit down. (Laughter.) "

* MR. ANTHONI :—" This is the only opportunity for the members of this House to have their say on the budget, and therefore we request an extension of time."

7th August 1946]

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I said if possible I would restrict the speech to 15 minutes. I can extend it if I may."

MR. ANTHONI :—" I consider it a hardship."

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—" Mr. President, Sir, we had a very illuminating sermon yesterday from Mr. Suryanarayana Rao and to-day from Mr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar as to how we should conduct our party deliberations. I am afraid their sermons had created greater wrong impressions about our party meetings than what the papers had done. I may inform them that absolutely no budget secrets were revealed to us at our party meetings. No other papers were given to us except those bulky volumes of figures which very few people could understand and which, to them, have been sent by post, but which were handed over to us in person the other day. Even when some of us asked the Premier to give us the salient features of the budget, he did not do it. What was our crime? According to them a great malpractice has been committed, and what was our crime? We, on decency and discipline, cannot make any speeches against the budget or bring in cut motions in the Assembly on the budget, but at the same time, as representatives of certain electorates we may have to represent to the Premier and the other Ministers certain facts. We only wanted to make certain suggestions and facts and think together with the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Nothing other than this was done."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" On a point of explanation I used the words 'they can have their discussions in strict conclaves.' I did not rule out that they should not discuss. In fact we have also had bulky volumes, but we were asked not to expose any of them till the budget was presented."

SRI MADHAVA MENON :—" As a matter of fact there had been only thinking together."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Evidently the intention was that the members might discuss but not divulge it to the public."

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—" Yes, Sir, neither the Prime Minister nor the party was responsible for speculations or inaccurate reports in the Press as it was not open to the Press, but if people sat at the windows and pried in, are we to be penalized for it? Sir, I only want to remove any misapprehensions that any budget secret was revealed to us. Often it was repeated that 'we are all members of this House. You should not show a particular partiality to your party. Take us into your confidence.' I want to clear off that misapprehension before I speak a few words on the budget. I have only again to express certain grievances regarding my own district. Sir, there is a provision of Rs. 30,000 for the construction of the Headquarters Hospital at Calicut. The construction of this Headquarters Hospital has been pending for the last 20 years. Any person, whether he be a medical man or not, if only he sees the Calicut Headquarters Hospital, will say that it is not fit to be a pig sty. Ministers and Governors have remarked in the Visitors' book there that it is worse than a pig sty. A hospital which

[Sri K. Madhava Menon] [7th August 1946]

can accommodate only 120 patients is now accommodating 450 persons and in a most insanitary locality in the most insanitary way. After much fight and persuasion during the last Congress Ministry, the then Health Minister came and visited the place which was proposed to be acquired for the hospital. Acquisition proceedings were taken and almost at the time when money was about to be paid, the Congress Ministry resigned, other influences prevailed and the land belonging to a high officer of this Government was given up and another land was purchased at a high cost. About ten lakhs of rupees was estimated as the cost. The site was acquired, the building was begun, the foundations and basements had been put up. One and a half lakhs of rupees had already been spent, and still in that place for the continuance of the construction, I would tell you, Sir, and through you to the Premier, that Rs. 30,000 will not raise the walls even to a height of ten feet for that hospital. I voice this grievance for whatever it is worth so that my electorate may not say that I did not bring it to the notice of the Government.

3-30
P.m.

“ I do not want to touch on many aspects of the budget, but I wish to speak on one or two points more. Sir, there is a proposal in the budget to give two crores of rupees more to elementary school teachers. Thanks for small mercies, Sir, but the real condition of the elementary school teacher has to be realized. There are many sorts of teachers in the elementary schools in this Province with different grades of pay, the aided school teacher getting a particular grade, the teachers in the local boards getting another grade, and the teachers in the Government elementary schools getting a higher grade, and the most discontented are the teachers in aided elementary schools. Every teacher in aided elementary schools gets 85 per cent of the grants or Rs. 12 per month. The remaining 15 per cent goes to the management. Even with the addition of two rupees that you are giving, he will be getting only Rs. 13-12-0 or Rs. 14. The elementary school teacher has to keep up his appearance, he has to wear decent dress, and he has to keep up his prestige before the students and society. Rupees 13-12-0 or Rs. 14 is hardly sufficient in these days, and Dr. John was saying that fifty rupees must be the least monthly income of any employee here. Even if that standard cannot be reached, certainly fourteen rupees can never satisfy him, and something more should be given. Unless his condition is attended to immediately, there is the risk, in spite of the advice given by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, that he may resort to strike.

“ Sir, I want to say a word about Ayurveda. Experts like K. R. K. Iyengar and Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar have spoken, and if I speak anything about it, I know I will be one of those who rush in where angels fear to tread. Whether it is a scientific system or not, my experience in the last one month has convinced me of its efficacy. A nearest relation of mine suddenly fell ill. I consulted the best of the allopathic doctors. They tried and said that it was the beginning of Reynold's disease for which

7th August 1946] [Sri K. Madhava Menon]

they had no treatment. Vitamin B injection, liver injection and calcium injection were given, but nothing could relieve the pain. Luckily for me, they told me : ' We have nothing else to do than these. We have no treatment for this. You better consult an Ayurvedic physician if he is available.' I consulted an Ayurvedic physician. The patient was suffering from excruciating pain and even morphia injection did not give him relief. After half an hour of pouring some oil, he was relieved of all pain. Whether scientific or not, Ayurvedic medicines have value. Conduct researches by all means, if necessary, but certainly let us not kill the system. It is good that the Government have now taken steps to see that that system of medicine is revived, and if necessary, scientific research must be undertaken.

" There is a postwar scheme adumbrated by the Advisers' regime for the rehabilitation of demobilised military men in my place called the Wynaad Colonisation Scheme. Wynaad is part of the Western Ghats, and a most unhealthy place where cent per cent malaria prevails. This is the place that has been chosen, and lakhs of rupees have been spent there already to rehabilitate these demobilised military men. In spite of all inducements given by the Government to go there, only 15 persons have applied to get themselves colonized there. Sir, it is a stupendous waste, and the question whether it is wise to spend more money on this scheme may be examined. Malaria has to be eradicated, and a huge staff is working there for it. Quarters for the staff have already been built, and they are living in those quarters. Now they are saying that unless people come to live there, there is no use of trying to eradicate malaria. So, Sir, I request that the question may be re-examined as to whether it is worthwhile, even after one year's arduous attempts, to pursue the matter where only 15 persons have applied for in a place which is intended for 7,000 people.

" One word about the scheme for village industries for which over 2 crores have been provided. The Prime Minister knows spinning, and I take a little pride that I myself am a good spinner. I have been spinning for a long time and I feel that I can speak with authority on spinning. In the note on the Khadi Scheme prepared by the Provincial Textile Commissioner, I find that only the single-wheel vertical charkas of the traditional type, but with speed-wheel attached, will be supplied everywhere. That is a very cumbersome charka, very difficult to shift, and will cost almost double the Kisan charka or the Yerrawada charka that is now in use, and the latter can much better be used. From my experience I can say that. So I request you to get that point re-examined. I find that provision has been made for the purchase of one lakh of charkas. I would suggest that the charkas required for a district may be ordered for in that district itself, instead of purchasing from outside agencies on contract. I know the Standard Furniture Company of Calicut are supplying us charkas, because they have got standardised things and know how to economise timber in making them, at almost half the price at which the All-India Spinners Association are selling. I found an officer of Government enquiring

[Sri K. Madhava Menon] [7th August 1946]

in the office of the All-India Spinners Association in Kerala about the cost of charkas. When he told me that they wanted the single-wheel vartical charka, I told him that it would not be good, and that the Kisan charka or the Yerrawada charka would be a better and cheaper one for all practical purposes. I suggest that that also may be re-examined before a final decision is arrived at regarding the single-wheel vertical charka. I find some other points in the scheme of the Textile Commissioner which has been circulated, require examination. I will represent my views to the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned. Now there is no necessity for me to speak about them in this House.

“ In the proceedings of the other House regarding the formation of village food committees reported in the press, particular reference was made to the formation of village committees in Malabar and that the claims of Muslims had not been properly met. The Prime Minister's reply was that he would look into the matter. I was present at two places where elections to the village committees were conducted by the Revenue Divisional Officer. The Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council were also present there when I was present. I do not remember a single instance wherein any suggestions made by a Muslim member were not accepted by the Revenue Divisional Officer. It was unfair on their part to have complained in the Assembly that they were not fairly treated.”

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ May I know whether the hon. Member is acting on behalf of any Minister in replying to this point? ”

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ I am only contradicting facts misrepresented by a colleague of mine in the other House. I can say without fear of contradiction that the suggestions of the Muslim members were accepted and not disregarded.”

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I would like at the very outset, to offer my hearty contratulations to the Hon. the Premier not only on his presenting us a popular budget, but also on the manner in which he has stood the strain of the last few days so remarkably well. (Hear, hear.) When I was going through the events of the last few days as reported in the press, I was constantly reminded of a conversation which took place between a surgeon, an architect and a politician. They were discussing as to which of their professions was the oldest. The surgeon said that his profession was the oldest because Adam was the first man that was created and Eve was created out of a rib taken from Adam's body, and that was a surgical operation. The architect came in and said : Nay, before Adam was created, order was made and that was the performance of the architect. But the politician stepped in and said : Before order was made, there was chaos and confusion, and that was the politician work. Before I came to this House, I did not know that making confusion and chaos was the job of public men.

7th August 1946]

[Mr. K. O. Anthoni]

“ Sir, I was distressed to see how things had been carried on during the last few days. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Madhava Menon just now entered on a defence of the procedure that was followed outside this House. My friends the hon. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao and Dr. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar might be representing the unknown citizens. I am representing the Indian Christian community, a very enlightened community, in this country, and I would like to tell you, Sir, on the floor of this House that I join them in the protest they have made against the manner in which this House has been treated. Even at this late hour, we have not been officially told that the Ministry have decided to introduce Prohibition in eight districts. You are the custodian of the privileges of this House, Sir, and I shall leave it to you to see that this House is not treated in the way in which it has been done. I protest against this treatment whether they intended it or not. The budget proposals were discussed threadbare by the party before they came to us. We hope to be treated as representatives of the people. It may be that some of us have not been elected on a particular ticket. That does not mean that we are any the less patriotic or nationalistic in our outlook towards the problems before the country. It is for these reasons and in view of what had been going on outside that I said that I would congratulate the Hon. Premier on the remarkable way in which he has stood the strain of the last few days.

“ With regard to the budget proposals, I have to make only one or two general remarks. I am a new comer to this House and I would request you to give me a little consideration in putting things before you. To my mind, this budget is a deficit budget. It has appropriated nearly nine crores from the Reserve Fund. There is nothing fundamentally wrong in a deficit budget. But having regard to the times and the money market being so very easy, I would like to know why this appropriation has been resorted to. During the post-war period-after the last war, we know what happened. I am sure we are going to have troubles in times ahead. I shall particularly refer to the social problem and the various movements that we are witnessing in our country. Just as we have witnessed after the last war, in all probability there would be an economic slump and that would be an appropriate time to draw on funds accumulated as revenue reserves. It is only in that way that I look at this appropriation. Moreover, we need not have appropriated from the revenue reserve fund if some of the items that have been included in the current expenditure had been treated as capital expenditure. As regards the three crores for rural reconstruction the Hon. Prime Minister himself has said that it is not all money spent for charitable purpose. That is an investment and a good deal of it is expected in return. Similarly I believe a certain portion of the allotment for the trading schemes will also come back as return on investments. Six and half crores have been set apart for education. Even in the Sargeant Scheme and the Report of the National Planning Committee, education has been treated as capital expenditure. As a result of education the

[Mr. K. O. Anthoni]

[7th August 1946]

taxable capacity of the people is raised and thereby return is expected in the form of enhanced taxation. I do not know why when such schemes could have treated education as capital expenditure we should not have done so.

“ Much has been said with regard to block grants or lump sum grants as the Hon. the Premier has called them :—for the rural uplift scheme 3 crores, for Harijan uplift 1 crore and there are minor items like separation of judicial and executive functions 2 lakhs, sub-jails 1 lakh, Indian medicine 5 lakhs, rural water supply 10 lakhs, medical colleges 2 lakhs. In all these cases no definite plans have been laid before the House and only lump sum allotments have been made. As several members have remarked, it would have been better if token grants were asked for. I was rather surprised to hear the Hon. Dr. Rajan saying yesterday that the Harijan uplift scheme had been circulated to the executive in the districts. The Hon. Premier will correct me if I am mistaken in believing that the scheme had been circulated to the district officers. (The Hon. Sri T. Prakasam : ‘ No such thing has been done so far as the Government are aware.’) I am obliged to you, Sir.

“ I would like to speak one or two words about Prohibition. Prohibition has been adopted by the Ministry as a cardinal item of their policy. I would not have referred to it in this manner but for the fact that we were told in the first instance that Prohibition is going to be introduced in four districts and then discussion took place in the other House and we are yet to be told that it has been extended to four more districts. Well, if it is prohibition let us be told that it is an honest attempt, I think it is a rash attempt that the ministry is making. Let it not be a result of power politics. I am afraid that this extension from four districts to eight districts has come as a result of power politics, as it has come from outside. (The Hon. Sri T. Prakasam : ‘ No, no. ’) You may deny it. But I am convinced about it. I shall be guilty of intellectual dishonesty if I do not tell you that I am not convinced that prohibition is the most urgent reform that we want and that it is going to be a cent per cent success. I am not convinced that prohibition is going to be such a success as it has been made out. But I do not want to stand in the way of this Government in their efforts which they honestly believe are calculated to improve the lot of the poor men. I am interested in social welfare and in improving the lot of the common man and though I have no great schemes as my friend Dr. John has got, yet I would like to give support to the Government in all their proposals to improve the lot of the common man. Since this scheme has been brought up with that idea, as a representative of the Indian Christian community I wish the Ministry God-speed. I have got my own misgivings about it, but I do not want them to feel that the Indian Christian community is standing in the way of their introducing prohibition. But there is one aspect to which sufficient attention has not been paid, though the financial implications have been referred to on more than one occasion. I would

7th August 1946] [Mr. K. O. Anthoni]

like to ask the Hon. the Premier if he has given thought to the human element aspect of this problem. I was told the other day by a toddy vendor that he had 250 employees under him as tappers, carriers and others. I wish the Hon. Premier had said how many people would be thrown out of employment in these eight districts. I am told that it would be a lakh of people. The Hon. Premier will correct me if I am wrong. Has the Hon. the Premier thought of any alternative employment for these people? We have been told that amenities would be provided for these people and that officers would be appointed for that purpose, but what about employment for human element there?

"I would like the Hon. Premier to explain to us if he has got any plans as to the machinery to carry out the administration of prohibition. It has been said by the Hon. the Premier that the police under the Inspector-General with the help of the excise staff will administer prohibition. The other day we read in the papers that there was going to be a Director of Prohibition who will also be the Commissioner of Excise. If that be so, the Excise Department being the staff who already know everything about the details connected with the administration of this department, it is a question for consideration as to why they should not be entrusted with the responsibility of administering this prohibition scheme.

"As a representative of the Indian Christian community, Sir, I have to make one submission to this House with regard to prohibition. Speaking particularly about the Catholic church, I would say that the church had been the most powerful agency on behalf of temperance in the whole world through the ages. It does not believe in prohibition since it interferes with the liberty of the individual. But since Government are now introducing prohibition, the church will certainly take to it kindly as an intensive movement of temperance. But there is one point on which the church would like to make its position clear. The Hon. Premier knows that wine is used for sacramental purpose in the Holy Mass which is the central act of christian worship. I might be told that Clause 16-a of the rules has made provision for this purpose. But I have been told by very reliable ecclesiastical authorities that a good deal of hardship was felt in the matter of getting 'authorities' from the district officers.

"Priests had to wait for getting these 'authorities' before 4 p.m. they could say the Mass. The principle involved is this. In the matter of Christian worship the ecclesiastical head is the one authority that is recognised as the duly constituted authority. But here the civil authority steps in and it may or may not give the 'authority'. What I would suggest is that Government should make some arrangements by which the ecclesiastical heads, viz., the Bishops should get the supply of wine—it is only less than half-an-ounce per day per priest—and they should be held responsible for it. This is a matter which has created very keen feeling among the Christians in this Province and I hope that the Hon. the Premier will take necessary steps to see that that hardship is not felt hereafter.

[Mr. K. O. Anthoni] [7th August 1946]

"Secondly, Sir, in the matter of education, the regional language question has already evoked a lot of criticism. I made a remark yesterday that the Hon. the Minister for Education was going at a tremendous speed. I respect bald heads—as I do grey hairs, I too have a bald head myself—(Laughter) and to be—but I would like the Hon. the Minister not to imagine that he is the repository of all knowledge in educational matters. When there are men like Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar and others who are authorities in the field of education in this House, let him not imagine that this is all like . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT.—"Where does the bald-head come in, Sir? I think, observations like these about personal appearance are not necessary in debates."

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—"I beg your pardon, Sir. The only point I want to make is that in a City like Madras—I do not know whether the Hon. Minister for Education has any knowledge of feelings in the City—(A voice : 'not much')—(then I think, I am better in that respect). There is a school somewhere in Madras and I had a talk with the headmistress of that school. I was told that the daughters of many of our prominent people are being educated in that school, as also the daughters of some of the Hon. Ministers. The headmistress told me that when every child was asked in what language she would like to be taught, the reply was 'in English'."

* THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—"Quite wrong to say so."

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—"I was told so, Sir, by a responsible authority—this headmistress of that school. I am sorry I have to cross swords with the Hon. the Minister for Law, for whom I have great respect. But this is an honest fact, Sir. Well, I only want to point out that provision should be made for children to be taught in English, if they so desire. In a city like Madras, where there is so much belief in the cultural value of English, some provision must be made for English being made the medium of instruction for those children who want it. I am glad that provision has been made in Madras and I hope in other important towns for imparting education in Malayalam, if there is a sufficient number of Malayalee students. But apart from that, generally speaking, in a country like ours which is not unilingual, but multi-lingual, a reform like this should not be hastily introduced. That is my point. I am also told that this order for the introduction of instruction only in regional languages was received by certain schools in the mufassal two days after the reopening. I do not know if it is a fact but I make it subject to correction."

"There is another aspect I should like to refer to. The Hon. the Minister for Education has provided a very paltry sum for building grants. I think it is less than a lakh. When we look at our schools, especially the village primary schools, there is no doubt that they are a disgrace to the country. I would like to see a much larger provision being made in the budget for the purpose."

7th August 1946] [Mr. K. O. Anthoni]

"The Rural Reconstruction scheme is indeed a good measure and I welcome it in the view that it is also calculated to improve the lot of the poor and also solve the cloth problem. But I am sure the Hon. the Premier will not agree with me when I say that there is still an element of compulsion in it. That is a totalitarian principle, which I strongly object to. The Hon. the Premier assured us on the floor of the other House that there is no coercion. But I am still inclined to believe from the note of the Provincial Textile Commissioner that there is some kind of penalty attached to it. In this connexion, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. Premier to the leader of the *Madras Mail* of a recent date, wherein it is said that there is coercion and compulsion attached to the scheme. I should like to hear from the Hon. the Premier how he reconciles his statement that there is no coercion, with the implications in the note of the Provincial Textile Commissioner.

"Then with regard to Harijan uplift, Dr. John has already referred to the feeling which I want to express. There are quite a large number of Harijans who have been converted to Christianity. They have been classed as Indian Christians for the purpose of elections, but that is only a political convenience. No body in this House can convince me that immediately they become Christians their social and economic conditions are altered. And so I suggest that in any scheme that may be devised for Harijan uplift, the beneficiaries should not be only Hindu Harijans, but also those who have embraced Christianity. One of the cardinal principles of Fundamental Rights is that no citizen should suffer on account of the faith which he holds. I would go so far as to say that even a Harijan converted to Islam should receive all these benefits." (Interruption.)

K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—"I object to that statement, Sir. A Harijan who embraces Islam becomes a Muhammadan and is entitled to all the social rights and privileges of the community. I am not prepared to accept any monetary help for him at all."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I hope the hon. Member will finish his speech by 4-15."

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—"Well, Sir, this morning the hon. Dr. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar referred to a very important aspect of our life in this country at the present juncture. He referred to the spirit of indiscipline and disorder that is prevalent in society to-day. This was the phenomenon that we witnessed in 1921. There were strikes all over the country and there was social discontent. I see to-day that there is a distinct social ferment which is a disturbing feature of our national life and it is confined not merely to our industrial life, but is spreading to all walks of life. Strikes have become a common feature everywhere. I hope the contagion will not spread to the Legislature. (Laughter.)

"Well, Sir, what I should like to say in this connexion is that it is no use burking the issue. There is dissatisfaction about

[Mr. K. O. Anthoni]

[7th August 1946]

present order of things. I do not think that everything is all right. All these phenomena should make us turn round and ask 'what is wrong with our social order?'. You are dealing to-day with strikes of industrial workers; you are dealing with strikes of postmen; you are also dealing probably with the threatened strikes in some other branches of the Services. The fundamental question is, what is wrong in our society as it is constituted at present. That is a question to which I should like the Hon. Ministers to address themselves. There is something fundamentally wrong in a society in which you expect even graduates to live on Rs. 40 and Rs. 50 a month. It is not a society that is properly constituted. The whole question requires a thorough investigation.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao referred to the salaries of teachers and of the subordinate officers in Government service. I tell you, Sir, that this is not going to stop there. It is going to have its ramifications all over. May I submit, Sir, that this is a problem that should receive priority consideration before everything else. Before allowing people who believe in revolutionary methods, before allowing people who preach 'isms' of every sort to get in, I should like the Hon. Premier to take necessary measures to see that all these problems are solved in a peaceful and orderly manner. The Hon. Minister for Labour and Industries, for whom I have very great respect has got some plans for dealing with labour problems. I hope he will soon come out with them. I am not speaking of labour problems alone. The whole social firmament has to be taken notice of and ways and means should be devised to solve these problems in an orderly manner, whatever those who stand for 'isms' and cataclysmic changes may say. I believe I am speaking for the 99 per cent of our people when I say that these problems should be solved in an orderly, peaceful and disciplined manner. I do not want to see the machinery of Government and of industry paralysed. Let us take time by the forelock and let the Hon. the Premier and his colleague the Hon. Mr. Giri go into these problems with sympathy and understanding, but at the same time with firmness and determination. I thank you, Sir."

4-15
p.m.

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—"Mr. President, I wish to say a few words regarding this Budget. Paragraph 16 on page 4 of the speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister gives the policy of the previous Government and the policy of the present in the following words :

'The previous Government decided that local bodies should be relieved of the responsibility for the maintenance and development of important lines of communications and 10,000 more miles of roads were taken over by the Government from 1st April 1946. To maintain the roads taken over from local bodies and to execute the post-war development programme, the Highways department was constituted from 1st April 1946. The present Government are, however, reviewing the position in view of the paramount need for increased production of food and other essential articles and are not in favour of spending large amounts on road works. They would prefer to spend larger amounts on irrigation works and other productive schemes, while setting apart adequate funds for improvements and maintenance of existing roads, and for construction of new roads

7th August 1946] [Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu]

wherever necessary. The Government have also considerably curtailed the programme of purchase of mechanical equipment and contemplate the revision of the entire post-war programme for road development. They propose that the staff that will be retrenched from the Highways department should be used for the investigation of important irrigation and electricity schemes which have been held up for want of engineering staff.

This is the policy that has been enunciated in paragraph 16. I perfectly agree. One point which I wish to place before this House is this: I have been listening since yesterday Member after Member saying, this has not been provided for and that has not been provided for. After all, the Budget is the division of the amount available for distribution on certain subjects. It is not a mountain from which we can pick off endlessly. There is only a certain sum of money available for distribution and within that limit only distribution can be made. That is one fundamental point to be remembered. I want to know what priority you give to Prohibition. Everybody wants money for improving the lot of this group or that group. But the real question is that there is only a sum of 30 or 40 crores available for all our needs. The question therefore turns upon priorities. I agree perfectly that the Ministry has stated the policy here. I know why they have done it. The real question therefore is whether the Ministry is adhering in any single particular to the policy adumbrated in paragraph 16 with all the 57 crores at its disposal. They scrap the Highways Department. They have spoken of irrigation schemes. My first submission with regard to this paragraph is that the profession is there but not the performance. I do not want to say anything more. In the Budget, provision is made for an increased expenditure of 2,907 lakhs. Out of this, Rs. 450 lakhs are for dearness and war allowance to Government servants, Rs. 48 lakhs for grants to local bodies to assist them in giving dearness allowance at Government rates, Rs. 104 lakhs for grants to management of aided schools and Rs. 8 lakhs for secondary schools. These four items total Rs. 610 lakhs. I am not grumbling about it. But here is a policy enunciated with nothing left to be spent on it after meeting the charges on account of the grant of dearness allowance, etc., to the services. Is the dearness allowance to continue after making provision for subsidies for food? There is not one word mentioned here about the increased provision for items stated in paragraph 16.

“I shall next refer to the Civil Works. Where is the additional provision required for the execution of new works newly taken over from the local bodies. You are not going to retrench the Highways Department. You are going to use it for the irrigation works. What are you going to do with the sum of Rs. 374 lakhs. And what about the execution of works connected with the post-war road development programme for which you have got a direct contribution?

“Hundreds of lakhs have been allotted to the Agricultural Department. Are you going to devote all this sum for payment of bonus and not for production of more food crops?

“Then we come to irrigation. We have no means of knowing what the proposals of the Ministry are in regard to this. On

[Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu]

[7th August 1946]

page 141 of the Budget Memorandum, new schemes proposed by the Ministry have been detailed. Items (1), (5), (7) and (8), viz., improvements to Peddalanka drain in the Kistna Delta System, opening of Engineering Colleges at Vizagapatam and Anantapur, training of Midwifery pupils and opening of Medical Colleges at Madura and Guntur, respectively are post-war schemes. We need not therefore bother about them. What are the items, then, that have been provided by the present Ministry? Introduction of prohibition is one. Provision for all these 14 items have been made in lump sums. Additional provision for irrigation works to increase food production, Rs. 28 lakhs. This is a lump grant. Lump grant again for the separation of the judiciary and the executive, Rs. 2 lakhs. Improvement of sub-jails in the Presidency, Rs. 1,00,000. Improvement of Indian Medicine, Rupees 5,00,000. Additional provision for rural water-supply, Rupees 10,00,000. All these are lump sum grants. The provision of 4 crores for Transport is also a lump sum grant. My submission is that if you go to the hustings and address the voters claiming credit for the provisions made in lump sums, your procedure may be alright.

“With regard to prohibition, I say it is absolutely wrong to make a lump sum grant. It is treating this House not at all as a House for examining the items of expenditure and revenue, but as a polling booth where you have to influence the voters.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—“Here is the scheme. Please take it home and examine it.”

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU:—“I will later refer to the Note of the Textile Department.

“Now, I find that you are going to re-introduce Prohibition. But the real point is, as Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar observed, a question of priority. Are you going to forego 3 crores of rupees to-day in the face of the food situation and in the face of the several demands made on you? The real question is whether or not Prohibition is useful. When you have so many commitments, are you justified in taking away 148 lakhs? No doubt it is the badge of your Party. You will not abandon it. But that badge has now become a wedge. It has become a wedge between two or three groups popularly known as the Godavari Group, the Cauvery Group and the Kumbakonam Group. Which Groups will merge I do not know. (Laughter.) The badge was introduced on a particular footing and that is why members have been saying it has become a wedge. Whatever it is, it is going to cost us three crores.

“There is one other point with which I will deal here. Are the 28 lakhs allotted for Agriculture by this Ministry enough for this major industry of our province? Has this Ministry got a programme only for 28 lakhs under Agriculture? Why this unfriendly attitude towards irrigation schemes?

“I next come to the subject of the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. What that system is going to be like, this

7th August 1946]

[Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu]

House has not been told. How is it going to be organized and how recruitment thereto will take place we do not know. We have not been told also whether there will be real separation between the Judiciary and the Executive and whether the Judiciary will be an independent body or placed in the hands of the Hon. the Minister for Law. We are asked to give 2 lakhs for the purpose. This is called a token grant. I have never heard of a token grant of 2 lakhs. We have heard of token grants of Rs. 100 or less. When you are going to spend two crores on this item, the fact that you have asked for only two lakhs is a matter for serious consideration. One gentleman, a T. R. Venkataraman, has been appointed as Chief Crown Prosecutor. I daresay he is a Brahman. I do not want to burke the question. I want to put it plainly. What right has the Ministry, before getting the approval of the House, to straightaway put a Brahman in that office? I do not know anything about him. But why do you want to put a scheme into effect before it is born? You have sent the thing before a Committee. When this is remarked as irregular, you take umbrage and appoint to a very responsible post, the Presidency Magistrate who is subordinate to you. Is he independent of you or the authority under whom he is serving? You are fixing 20 per cent on merit for direct appointments. That goes directly against the communal Government Order which a previous Government deliberately passed. Here is a man who is appointed directly upon a system which has not been approved. What right has the Hon. Minister to do this? (The Hon. Sri K. Bhashyam : 'I am not concerned about it.') But how dare you appoint like that?

"Prisoners have had *majjika* already. Now do you want 4-30
blankets? Here again what is it that they are going to do with p.m.
this 1 lakh of rupees. On what basis are they going to spend this?
The House is entitled to this information on lump sum grants like
this.

"Then, Sir, they say that the industrial development of the Province is of the utmost importance. Is the industrial development going to be started with what is called the charka? This veduka veduka business, is that going to be the cornerstone of industrial development, this charka?"

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—"Not at all."

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—"Exactly. It is not going to be. I know why the Hon. the Minister for Industries is fretting, it is because he has not been given any money, but he has been given a paragraph under the head 'Industry,' namely :

'The Government have already sanctioned . . . trade and commerce complain that the existing channels have been interfered with and one opening after another is closed to them. But the kind of business so far has largely been of the type which takes no risks, does not add to the real wealth of the Province and aims at making money in easy ways like commission agency, money-lending, etc. The Government in future planning intend to open up new lines along which trade and commerce may prosper and help the real development of the Province. They propose to establish an Industrial Finance Corporation on the lines of the Industrial Finance Corporation recently formed in the United Kingdom and make it responsible for the proper industrial development of the Province.'

[Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu]

[7th August 1946]

“That is the paragraph which the Hon. Minister for Industry gets.”

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“It contains a lot.”

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“But no money. I have no objection to any statements being made where no money is concerned. The whole House is concerned only when money is being allotted. Now the question is, without providing anything how are they going to industrialize the Province. What is the business that they contemplate? Bangles business you have got. That is the first business. I cannot think of a Ministry doing bangles business. The next business is money-lending. Then the charka business gets 4 crores of rupees. I ask in all seriousness, when there is this cloth shortage, are people going to be clothed by the use of these charkas? (Some hon. Members: ‘Yes, certainly.’) Yes. Quite right. Do you believe it seriously? Merely because you are members of the Congress you can say that. I have no objection. (Laughter.) The real question is this. If you spend these three crores to-day in buying Star textile machineries and get them working will you not ease the situation much quicker and more easily than this veduka veduka business? We must consider which is the more economic method and a more practical method. The charka no doubt is a political weapon against competition of foreign goods. When there are no textile imports from abroad you can utilize it and produce more yarn. If you utilize the 3 crores how many textile mills can be started and how much more yarn can be got. Are you going to give an honest answer and say whether you really prefer the charka to the mills? I say, Sir, this is absolutely going back to medieval days. As my friend put it, you want motor cars and at the same time you also want the bullock cart. You want to make bangles and at the same time you want the Industrial Finance Corporation. A very big word! What is the Industrial Finance Corporation here, turning the wheel round, round and round? Therefore I submit that this industrial policy is not sound. It is not at all in consonance with the times. It is retrograde. It might have been useful in primitive days when people lived in caves. It is not suited for competitive life.

“Next, Sir, the question that is troubling us on the present occasion is the food situation and what steps the Government have taken to ease it. The House must remember and realize that we are spending 7 crores of rupees for the purpose of what is called loss or expenditure on account of subsidy. This is what the budget memorandum says: ‘The estimated net outlay in 1946-47 on State Trading Schemes, i.e., for the purchase and supply of foodgrains, potatoes and firewood, and the opening of depots, the purchase and distribution of cattle food, manure and iron and steel for agricultural implements, etc., is Rs. 689.19 lakhs. The acute food shortage prevailing at present mainly accounts, etc., etc.’ Next item is price control and supply of foodgrains and other necessities of life. The estimated expenditure on establishment under this head is Rupees 120.07 lakhs. Therefore we have got a machinery in this Province for the purchase and supply of foodgrains costing 120 lakhs. This

7th August 1946]

[Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu]

is the machinery which sells at a loss of 689 lakhs of rupees. Sir, at the time of the Food discussion I asked what the loss was due to. Where does it arise? Is it on account of the difference in price that you pay and the seller's price and the consumer's price or is it wastage. Then what is this machinery there for? They say that dearness allowance is not sufficient and family allowance is not sufficient. Sir, there is no justification at all for this loss.

"Then at page 579 of the details we find an item 'Subsidy for extra transport charges and for losses.' The net loss there is Rs. 2,35,81,000. We find not a word of explanation in the Budget Memorandum or anywhere about this and yet this House is asked to pass this budget. Of course we have no power to reject it, but we are asked to say something upon it. This is all with regard to rice.

"We come to wheat. The loss on the purchase of this grain is 1,54,44,000 rupees. All in crores only (laughter).

"Potatoes also get 70 lakhs. I ask the Government whether the supply of this dehydrated sweet potatoes is going to avert the food crisis or is it merely some kind transaction going on, because the money is available for spending in crores."

* DR. U. RAMA RAO :—"All this was done by the Advisers' Government."

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—"I want to know from the Government what is the object of incurring such huge losses. Are they going to have another deficit? When you are spending money on a commercial basis it is no good saying that we lost 8 crores of rupees.

"Then with regard to the Agriculture Department. Again and again it has been said that the want of manure is immediate. If you apply manure you will get more paddy and you need not pay higher prices for imported foodstuffs. Therefore it is the duty of the Government to see that so far as the supply of manure is concerned it is made properly. You say that you are granting concessions to deficit areas. What is the provision that we are asked to make for Circars? 98,000 rupees. Whereas we are losing 7 crores of rupees by way of subsidy, they are making only a provision of 98,000 rupees. It is insignificant. While in two districts in the south in South Kanara and Malabar you spend 28,17,600 rupees for distribution of manure free you allot for Circars 98,000 rupees. Is that justifiable?

"Then with regard to the distribution of this manure my hon. Friend has told you how it is being distributed in the Kistna district. Dr. Rajan has told us how it is distributed in the Trichy district. Nothing is available for the ryots. The Agriculture Department officers say that the Department has taken the manure away and they could not supply. When are you going to supply the manure?—in December? What is the use of supplying the manure so late? Then, Sir, no provision has been made for chemical fertilisers."

[7th August 1946]

THE HON. SRI K. BASHYAM :—“ Where do you get them? ”

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ There are factories started by the Government of India and they must know about it.

“ Coming to the Veterinary Department, what is the provision that is made here? The Memorandum says : ‘ Scheme for the procurement and distribution of Mysore cattle—Rs. 12,700.’ Does the Ministry think that Rs. 12,700 is all that is necessary for this purpose? Sir, I leave it there.

“ Then we come to Industries. I am glad that at last the Hon. Minister for Industries has been able to wring out from this budget 10 lakhs of rupees for engines, pumps and well sinking equipment for use in the Department of Industries and Commerce. Sir, I suppose that these are issued to the Industries Department for use of the agriculturist. If it is not, I do not want to congratulate the Hon. Minister upon this. If all these are not intended to meet the food situation they are no good. What is the use of merely digging wells? You must give them electricity, and machines must be given. You must lay transmission lines for the supply of electricity. Here in the budget, under ‘ Capital outlay on electricity,’ what is being done is this : Extension of electric scheme to Kuppam is the one item. About transmission lines nothing is said.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I hope the hon. Member will close soon.”

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ Sir, there is a provision of Rs. 46 lakhs for Madras-Mettur interconnection. Is Madras going to produce more food? Then there is a provision of 2 lakhs for extension of distribution lines in the Mettur System. Will this 2 lakhs be sufficient for provision of electricity to Chittoor, North Arcot, Chingleput, etc? If electricity is extended to these places they can carry on cultivation at any time they please. Here is a lump sum provision for the construction of transmission lines and other works for the supply of power to intending consumers, 3 lakhs. That is all the provision that is made. I have exhausted the budget demands here and I leave it to you there to judge.”

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—“ Mr. President, I must at the outset, thank the present Government and His Excellency the Governor for having made the provision for representation of Labour for the first time in this Honourable House. There is no provision in the Constitution for representation of Labour in the Legislative Council. It had therefore to be provided for only by nomination. In the last Legislative Council, there was no representative for Labour. Labour is therefore really gratified and thankful to the present Government and His Excellency the Governor for having provided representation for them in this House.

“ It now gives me the opportunity to voice forth the views of workers in general and especially those toiling for the Government in particular. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar referred to the turbulent spirit abroad. If there is a turbulent spirit abroad and if the

7th August 1946]

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

situation is really anxious it is because of the economic circumstances that exist to-day. The workers find that they do not get a square deal from the capitalists. The workers find that their income is not sufficient to make both ends meet. The workers find that just because they are trying through their trade union organizations to get a square deal they are being suppressed and oppressed by the employers. No wonder that you find a wave of strikes persisting throughout the country." (Interruption.)

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Order, please."

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—" If there are strikes, and if there are likely to be strikes, I must say, Sir, that they are not without justification. I am aware, Sir, that they are also strikes . . ."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" I must request the hon. Member and also other friends who may be following him to weigh their words when they speak on strikes. All kinds of things are going on which have been the cause of promoting these strikes. Hon. Members should be careful with the language that they use."

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—" I am thankful to the Hon. the Premier. I was just about to refer to what he is referring. I am aware that there are many factors which contribute to strikes."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I propose that the House may sit till 6 o'clock to-day, because I hear that it may not be possible for the Hon. the Premier to be here to-morrow after four. So I wish to close the discussions before lunch to-morrow and leave the period after lunch for the Hon. the Premier's reply. I expect the whole House will co-operate with me and if possible I may announce at the end to-day that we will be meeting at 10-30 a.m. to-morrow morning."

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—" Since the commencement of the War, labour has not been able to exercise its rights. It has been kept down and kept down probably on account of the circumstances arising out of the war for five long years when there was no popular Government. The Legislatures remained closed down. Now that the elections have taken place, now that popular representatives have been returned to the Legislature and a popular Government has come into office, no wonder, Sir, workers who have been suffering all these years, are anxious to take the opportunity to see that they get their legitimate grievances redressed. I am aware, as I said, that there are strikes which are not due to economic conditions, or real grievances. But such strikes are few. I may assure the Hon. the Premier that sound trade union movement in this Province is behind such strikes. If workers resort to strikes, it is because all other means of negotiations fail and employers do not redress reasonable grievances."

" Sir, I must congratulate the Hon. Minister for Labour on the policy adumbrated by him for settlement of industrial disputes in this Province. During the short period that the Ministry has been in office, and the Hon. Sri Giri has been in charge of the portfolio

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

[7th August 1946]

of Labour more than 13 adjudications have been ordered and a large number of industrial disputes have been settled without adjudication or conciliation by the Minister calling both parties together and bringing about an amicable settlement. I know that the Hon. Minister is doing his best."

THE HON. SRI PRAKASAM :—" Why can't the hon. Member leave it for reply by the Hon. Minister? "

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—" The Hon. Premier has suggested that I might leave over the matters to the Hon. Minister concerned for reply. I am referring to the efforts that the Government is making to settle disputes so that the other sections of this House who do not belong to the Party might know that Labour is fully alive to the efforts that the Government is making for settlement of disputes and that the Government is not sitting over the disputes as it happens in certain other parts of the country.

" We have been expecting Labour legislation even from the last Government. Labour legislation is already overdue. At the tripartite conference it has been agreed that certain pieces of legislation should be immediately introduced. And therefore I would like to take this opportunity to impress upon the Government the need to bring at least elementary legislation for meeting the demands of Labour immediately. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar said that in the hospitals and in the teaching profession there should be no strikes. I wish to say that if the present condition of the teachers is allowed to continue and if the present conditions of the ill-paid employees in the Government hospitals, who are in thousands are allowed to continue, the strikes will occur both in the teaching profession and in the hospitals. Sir, I do not believe in strikes. I am given to settling disputes by negotiations. But if the present condition of the servants of the Government in the hospitals is allowed to continue, in Madras alone there are about 4 to 5 thousand people who are ill paid, temporary, and denied the amenities and privileges of permanent employees, there will be strikes in hospitals too. There is no reference to these people even in the Salaries Revision Committee's recommendations. They are uncared for. There has never been a systematic enquiry into the conditions of these ill-paid Government servants. For example take your own peons who are indispensable to you. They are getting Rs. 12-8-0 per mensem and they cannot go beyond Rs. 16. Sir, you should excuse me for putting things strongly; this is not very creditable to any Government. And in the present budget there is no provision made, I am sorry to say, for increasing and levelling up the salaries of the peons and the non-gazetted underpaid employees and improving the miserable lot of the employees grouped under several wonderful and mistifying categories, as 'temporary staff', 'contingent staff', 'inferior staff', 'menial staff', and so on. If, Sir, strikes occur even among the non-gazetted servants, even among your peons, they are legacies of the past. You are not responsible for them. But we want that you should take immediate steps to see that those who are getting below Rs. 30 in the Government service are attended

7th August 1946]

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

to and their salaries raised at least to 60 rupees. Your own figures show that in the City of Madras it is impossible for a family to get on without at least Rs. 60. In the Government Press alone there are 2,000 people, 900 of whom are getting between Rs. 14-8-0 and Rs. 20. In the Guindy Institute where serums are manufactured, where experts are employed on very high salaries, the workers were getting only Rs. 12 to Rs. 15. When the dearness allowance was raised to Rs. 16 somebody decreased their salaries from Rs. 15 to Rs. 12 and from Rs. 12 to Rs. 9. A representation has been made to the Hon. Minister concerned. A deputation has also waited on the Hon. Minister and still justice has not been done.

“The other day when the Hon. Minister for Industries was at Mettur the women workers of the Civil section attached to the Hydro-Electric Department came to him and made representations. They showed him their wages cards. They were getting 3 annas per diem and Rs. 16 as dearness allowance. They wanted him to improve their wages. They wanted the 3 annas per day, to be increased to at least 8 annas as their wages. After the visit of the Hon. Minister the dearness allowance has been withdrawn and the wage has been fixed at 12 annas per day. This is the improvement that has been effected. They had been getting 13 annas and it has now been reduced to 12 annas. I do not know under what authority the Executive Engineer or the Superintending Engineer reduced the income of the women labourers from 13 annas to 12 annas doing away with the dearness allowance.

“Sir, there are 2,000 employees employed in the Government Press. They have given a strike notice. The workers of the Government Press have a union and they believe in constitutional methods. They are the most patient lot. They are not Communists. They are revolutionaries. They are pure trade unionists. But they have been driven to the necessity of giving a strike notice and they also came to the Fort to meet the Hon. the Premier so that they may make direct representations to him, as we have been promising and promising but we have not secured them redress. Some 900 employees are getting from Rs. 14-8-0 to Rs. 20. They have other grievances also. I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to the Hon. the Premier and to the Minister concerned to attend to the problems of the Government Press workers before the strike notice expires. We do not believe in strikes, and we do not believe in strike notices. But the strike notice has been given with a view to draw the attention of the authorities concerned urgently to the situation.

“Then, Sir, I would like to refer to the condition of other Government workers. A Salaries Commission was appointed. They made investigations. A few non-officials were appointed to the committee. The employees were not examined. Only the Heads of Departments were examined to say what should be the salaries and allowances of those working under them. I must say with due deference to those Heads of Departments who are sympathetic, generally they are bureaucratic, generally they have no sympathy for the hardships and the difficulties of the low-paid

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

[7th August 1946]

5 p.m.

employees. Once I was talking to a Secretary to Government. He was not aware of the salary of his peon. I told him it was Rs. 12-8-0. He was astonished. Probably he was under the impression that it was Rs. 120. Such Heads of Departments were alone examined. A report was submitted and even that report has been shelved. There was an interpellation about the matter on the floor of this House. The Salaries Committee, after examining, not the workers working in the various departments, not even the clerks who know something about the subject, but the Heads of Departments who draw hundreds of rupees, who do not know what it is to go without a supper or a drink, made very modest recommendations. It said that people drawing below Rs. 30 should get an increase of 33-1/3 per cent. and that similarly there must be a modest but irreducible increment in the salaries of the other underpaid employees. That report has been thrown to the winds. It has not come out, it has not been published in the Press. The report also says that the increase in the basic salaries should be made exclusive of dearness allowance. But the Government said that in view of the fact that the dearness allowance had been raised from Rs. 10 to Rs. 16, the recommendation of the Salaries Committee have been dropped. The committee had definitely recommended that the irreducible minimum improvements should be exclusive of the dearness allowance drawn by the workers. They calculated on the basis of 160 points as the index number of the cost of living for their recommendations. But, Sir, to-day the index number has gone up by three more points over what it was last month, by 6 points over what it was two months ago and now it is somewhere near 230 or 240. They assumed 160 as the point for their recommendations. To-day it has increased enormously and yet there is no provision in the Budget for improving the salaries of the low-paid underdogs in Government service. If they are discontented and put forward their demands rather strongly, and if they are driven to the necessity of making demonstrations, I cannot at all blame them; but I must blame the Government who have left this legacy to you. I would appeal to you on bended knees on behalf of the sufferers to see that by introducing a supplementary demand or otherwise, you give some relief to these miserable workers who are toiling for your Government and without whom you cannot get on and no Government can get on. Sir, in the last Assembly I raised the question of the workers regarded as contingent staff. There, hundreds and thousands of people doing permanent and continuous work, as permanent and continuous as the work of any officer, as permanent as the work of the Ministers and more permanent than that of the Members of the Legislature. They are considered as contingent staff. For example, the workers in the King Institute are considered to be contingent staff. They are being denied the amenities and privileges of the permanent service. When the dearness allowance was raised from Rs. 10 to 16, their salary was cut down from Rs. 12 to 9 and even to-day you have the tragedy. How could I say it is a creditable spectacle—of the Government workers in the King Institute getting Rs. 9 and the Government

7th August 1946]

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

workers in the Hydro-electric department at Mettur getting As. 3 per diem. Sir, this state of affairs is not at all very creditable and should be remedied by the present Government. I was referring to the contingent staff, Sir . . . ”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I wish the hon. Member would avoid repetitions.”

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—“ I was referring to the contingent staff. I am now referring to one aspect of their service to which I have not already referred. During the last Congress Government, the hon. Mr. Rajagopalachariar said that whatever work was continuous and of a permanent character ought not to be regarded as contingent. Large numbers of Government workers in your own hospitals, bottom people, hundreds of them in the Royapuram hospital and in the General hospital and hundreds in other hospitals, are regarded as contingent staff. They have no fixed salary. Their salary will fluctuate according to the market rates, but the salaries of high officers, the Superintendents, the Surgeon-General and others, those do not fluctuate according to the market rates. Such market rates come in only with regard to low-paid Government servants, the nature of whose employment is as permanent and continuous as that of anybody else. The other day I met the engine drivers who are in charge of pumping stations supplying water to His Excellency's Government House at Guindy who are regarded as contingent staff. Sir, His Excellency holding office only for a period of five years, may be considered as contingent, but not people who are there giving water as long as it is required for the people in the Government House and other houses attached to it. As I said, these Government workers should not be considered to be temporary and contingent and are grouped under various mystifying and unreasonable categories. They should be confirmed and admitted to the privileges and facilities of permanent Government employees. I am glad and I must on this occasion thank the Hon. Minister for Public Works for what he has done to the workers of the Public Works department. They were without adequate provision for old age. The Government are compelling and rightly compelling private employers to improve the lot of the workers employed under them. They are inducing them to provide provident fund, give leave and other facilities. There are to-day hundreds and thousands of workers under Government who have no provision made for them for old age. The Hon. Minister for Public Works the other day provided for a half month's salary for every year of service for workers employed in the Public Works Workshops and Marina gardens. It is most anomalous that the workers of other workshops do not get this privilege. I appeal to the Government to see that this is applied also to the workers employed in other Government undertakings like the Industrial workshops, the Public Works Workshops at Dowleswaram, at Bezwada and other places. There has never been a systematic enquiry held into the condition of Government servants; but the top dogs have been able to save themselves; they have been able to advance their conditions; but the lot of the

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

[7th August 1946]

underdogs has remained unattended to and uncared for all these years. As I said, this is a legacy left to this Government by the Government that has gone. But it is necessary that a systematic and immediate enquiry should be ordered and conducted into the conditions of the thousands of Government servants coming under various categories, permanent, temporary, contingent and non-gazetted and so forth. Though the recommendations of the Salaries Committee have been shelved and their most modest recommendations have gone to the winds, I appeal to the Government to give effect to the important recommendations now at least. The Postal workers, the railway workers and others have been given interim relief pending the recommendations of the Salaries Committee which has been recently appointed by the Government of India. Sir, I do not want the Government to wait for a strike notice from the non-gazetted employees, to give them such relief. I do not want them"

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Do not go on threatening us often."

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—" I am appealing to the Government. I do not believe in threats, I do not give threats, nor do I take threats; I do not myself believe in it. I am simply apprising the Government of the situation that is already there; I must take this opportunity to impress on the minds of some of the members here who are apathetic towards the Government servants. There are, Sir, as you know, some who say that if workers who are given Re. 1 a day they will spend 12 as. in the toddy shops. And one member, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar rightly said that workers go to the toddy shops so that they may forget for some time their miseries and troubles and the conditions that exist in their homes. These are conditions of which the Hon. the Premier is not unaware; but I refer to them here in order to impress them on the members of the House. I suggest that if a lump sum grant cannot be made in the budget, the dearness allowance may be increased and an interim relief may be given to the Government employees. I am not talking so much for the Government—they know the conditions—I am speaking for my own co-members here. I am appealing to the Government to give to the low-paid employees immediately some interim relief. It is now more than two years since the dearness allowance was increased. Since then the index of the cost of living has soared up. Private employers have linked themselves to the index number and have increased the dearness allowance to their employees. It is very necessary that at least with effect from 1-1-1946 the dearness allowance should be reasonably increased and the Government workers saved from privation and the necessity of threatening or actually going on strikes. We have got a Tamil proverb : 'பசி வந்தால் பத்தும் பறந்து போகும்.' If you are going to starve your workers, if the Government are not going to deal with them squarely, they will certainly go on strike; none can prevent them from doing so. Any temporary relief given will avert the situation and help the workers. The workers are waiting in expectation, they are anxious that the Government should help them. I appeal to the Government

7th August 1946]

[Sri P. R. K. Sarma]

to bring the necessary labour legislation early and take effective and immediate steps to relieve the distress of their workers and the ill-paid Government employees. I thank you, Sir, for giving me this indulgence."

* SRI O. P. RAMASWAMI REDDIYAR :—“கனம் தலைவரவர்களே, இந்தப் பட்ஜெட்டை இவ்வளவு குறுகிய காலத்தில் சமர்ப்பித்ததற்காக நான் பிரதம மந்திரியவர்களைப் பாராட்டுகிறேன். எனக்கு முன் பேசிய நண்பர் பலவிதமான அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களென்ன, இன்னும் மற்றத் தொழிலாளர்களென்ன. இவர்களுடைய வறுமையைப்பற்றி நன்றாகப், பேசினார். ஆனால், இதற்கெல்லாம் ஆதியாயிருக்கிற கிராமவாசி எந்த நிலைமையிலேயிருக்கிறான், அவனுடைய நிலைமையென்ன, அவனுடைய ஆதாயத்தை அவன் எந்த விதத்திலே யடைகிறான், அவனுக்கு என்ன மிச்சமிருக்கிறது, என்ற விஷயத்தில் இந்தச் சபையிலே இரண்டு நாட்களாகக் நான் கேட்டுக்கொண்டிருந்தும் ஒருவரும் அதைப்பற்றி கவனித்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை, ஏன்? நமக்கெல்லாம் காரணமாக இருக்கிறவன் கிராமத்திலேயிருக்கும் விவசாயி இந்த மாகாணத்தை யெடுத்துக் கொண்டால் சுமார் 68 லக்ஷம் பட்டாதார்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். இதில் எவ்வளவு பேர்கள் அவர்களுடைய பொருளாதார நிலைமை மூலமாக இவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய உணவை உற்பத்தி செய்து அவர்களுடைய குடும்பத்தைக் காப்பாற்ற முடியுமென்பதை யாராவது நினைத்தார்களா என்று பார்த்தால், இதுவரையிலிருந்து அரசாங்கமும் இதைக் கவனித்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் எந்தெந்த முறையிலே இதற்காகத் தொகைகள் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன என்று பார்த்தால், அதன் மூலமாக நன்றாக எல்லோரும் தெரிந்துகொள்ள முடியும். இந்தத் தொகைகளுக்கெல்லாம் காரண பூதனையிருக்கிறவன் விவசாயி அவனுக்கு ஒழுங்கு, கட்டுப்பாட்டில்லை என்பதினாலும், அவன் பரந்து இருக்கிறான் என்பதினாலும், அவனைக் கவனிப்பதற்கு இங்கே யாரும் இருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை, ஆனால், நமது அரசாங்கம் அதிகாரத்திற்கு வந்து இரண்டு மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள் கிராமபுனருத்தாரணத்திற்காகவும், இன்னும் பலவிஷயங்களுக்காகவும் சில தொகைகளை ஒதுக்கி வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள், இருந்தாலும், நமது அரசாங்கத்திற்கு எவ்வளவு தொகை வருகிறதோ, அதிலிருந்து எவ்வளவு தொகை இதற்காக ஒதுக்கி வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்று பார்த்தால், ஒதுக்கி வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் தொகையானது மிகவும் குறைவாகத்தானிருக்கிறது. நம் அரசாங்கத்தை நான் குறைசூறவரவில்லை. ஆனால், எந்த விஷயத்தை முக்கியமாகக் கவனிக்க வேண்டுமோ அந்த விஷயம் இதுவரையில் கவனிக்கப்படவில்லை. வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை எந்த விதத்திலே திருத்தியமைக்கவேண்டுமென்று ரூபகமூட்டவும், கிராமவாசி எந்தெந்த முறையிலே முன்னேற்றமடைய வேண்டுமோ, அந்தந்த முறையிலே அரசாங்கத்திலிருந்து தொகைகள் ஒதுக்கிவைக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவுந்தான், இந்த விஷயத்தை நான் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவருகிறேன். இந்த மாகாண அரசாங்கத்தை யெடுத்துக்கொண்டால், சுமார் 46 கோடி ரூபாய் வருவாய் வருகிறது. இதை யார் கொடுக்கிறார்கள்? ஜனங்களில் 100-க்கு 72 பேர்கள் விவசாயிகள். இவர்கள்தான் இதைக் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். நீங்கள் நிலவரியை யெடுத்துக் கொண்டால், சுமார் 10 கோடி ரூபாய் விவசாயிகளிடமிருந்து வருகிறது. கலால் வரியை யெடுத்துக் கொண்டாலும், (major portion) பெரும்பான்மையாக அதில் வருவாய் அவர்கள் மூலமாகத்தான் வருகிறது. விற்பனை வரியை யெடுத்துக் கொண்டாலும், அதிலும் முக்கால்வாசி, அவர்களால் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. இந்த மாகாணத்திலே சுமார் 4 கோடி 90 லக்ஷம் ஜனங்களில் 4 கோடி 40 லக்ஷம் ஜனங்கள் கிராமங்களிலே வசிக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலைமையைச் சரியாக எடுத்துச் சொல்ல முடியாத நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்த ஒட்டாத நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்ற முறையிலே இப்போது எங்கே பார்த்தாலும் மற்ற விஷயங்களிலே, ஸ்டிரைக் செய்யப்பட்டுவருகிறது. ஜனங்கள் விவசாயிகள்தான் எஜமானர்கள் என்பதை மறந்து விட்டார்கள். இன்று இந்த எஜமானர்களுடைய வருவாய் என்ன? ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் சராசரி 11½ ரூபாய் கிடைக்கிறது. இப்போது விலைவாசியின் உயர்வு அதிக

5-15
p.m.

[Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiyar]

[7th August 1946]

மாகியிருக்கிறது. ஆனால், இன்று அவர்களுடைய நிலைமையென்னவென்பதை யாராவது உணர்ந்தார்களா? இந்த விஷயத்தை மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு, இனிமேல் வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை மாற்றி, சரியான முறையிலே அதை அமுலுக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவே எந்த அரசாங்கம் இருந்தாலும், வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை சரியான முறையிலே அவர்கள் வகுத்து, எவன் எஜமானாக இருக்கிறானோ, அவன் பெயரளவில் எஜமானன்தான் என்று இல்லாமல்படி, அவனுக்குக் கீழிருக்கும் ஊழியர்களை விடக்கேவல்லமான நிலைமையிலே வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்பதை மறக்காமல், அவனுடைய முன்னேற்றத்தை மனதில் கொண்டு தகுந்த முறையிலே வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை அமைக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத் தான் நான் இதைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். நம்முடைய, மாகாணத்திலேயுள்ள 68 லக்ஷம் பட்டாதார்களில் எவ்வளவு பேர்களுடைய நிலைமை சரியானபடி இருக்கிறதென்று, பாருங்கள். பட்டாதார்களில் ஒரு ரூபாயிக்குக் குறைந்த வரிசெலுத்துபவர்கள் சுமார் 14 லக்ஷம் பேர்களுக்கு இருக்கிறார்கள். இது 1940-ம் ஆண்டுத்திய ரெவினியூ டிபார்ட்மெண்டின் கணக்குப்படி. இப்போது அது இன்னும் அதிகமாகவிருக்கும். ஒரு ரூபாயிக்குமேல் 10 ரூபாயிக்குள்ளிருக்கும் பட்டாதார்கள் சுமார் 35 லக்ஷம் பேருக்கு இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த 50 லக்ஷம் பட்டாதார்களும் இப்போதுள்ள வருவாயை வைத்துக்கொண்டு, தங்களுடைய குடும்பத்தையும், ஆடு, மாடு இவைகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு வாழ்க்கையைச் சரியாக நடத்த முடியுமா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். இவ்வளவு பேர்களும், சாதாரணமாக அரசாங்கத்திலேயுள்ள ஒரு கீழ்தர பியூனுக்கு இருக்கும் வருவாயுமில்லாமல்படி, இருக்கிறார்களென்றால், அவர்களைப் பற்றி படித்தவர்களும், வியாபாரிகளும் மற்றவர்களும் கவனிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக இதை ஞாபகமூட்டுகிறேன். அவர்களைப் பற்றி கவனிக்க முடியாதபடி, ஒவ்வொருவரும் அரசாங்கத்தை ஸ்தம்பிக்கச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்துடன் காரியங்களைச் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். கிராமவாசிகளுக்கு ஏதாவது கொஞ்சம் நன்மை செய்வதற்காக தோசித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும் இந்தச் சமயத்தில், பணம் பூராவும் சம்பளத்திற் போய்விடுமா என்ற பயம் காரணமாக நான் இதைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். சம்பளத்தில் பணம் போவதைப்பற்றி வேண்டாமென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை, ஆனால், முதலில் யாரை நாம் நியாயமாக கவனிக்கவேண்டுமோ, அவர்களைக் கவனித்துவிட்டு, பிறகு மற்ற விஷயங்களைதோசிக்கலாமென்று தான் நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். இதை யெல்லாம் மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு வேலையை நாடி சரியாகச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்றால், ஊழியவர்க்கம், வியாபாரிகள், பெரிய தொழிற்சாலைச் சாரர்கள் எல்லோருமாக ஒத்துழைத்து, நியமான முறையிலே அவரவர்களுடைய பங்கை அவரவர்கள் அடைந்து, அரசாங்கத்தை சரியான முறையிலே நடத்துவதற்கு ஒத்துழைக்கும் படியாகவும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அப்படியில்லாவிட்டால், அரசாங்கம் சரியாக நடக்க முடியாது. வேறெந்த வேலையும் நடக்காது. இன்று தொழிலாளர்கள் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் ஸ்டிரைக் செய்ய ஆரம்பித்து விட்டார்கள். விவசாயிகளையும் ஸ்டிரைக் செய்யும்படியான நிலைமையை நீங்கள் உண்டாக்குவது தவறு என்று நான் எச்சரிக்கை செய்ய விரும்புகிறேன். எவன் இதுவரையில் ஸ்டிரைக் செய்யாமலிருக்கிறானோ, அவனை ஸ்டிரைக் செய்யும்படியாக நீங்கள் கட்டாயப் படுத்துவதாகவிருந்தால், பிறகு எந்த நிலைமை இந்தத் தேசத்திலேற்படுமென்று பாருங்கள். நாமெல்லோரும் சாப்பிடமுடியுமா வென்று பாருங்கள்.

“இன்று விவசாயி எந்த நிலைமையிலே உற்பத்தி செய்கிறென்றது பார்த்தால், சாதாரணமாக இந்த மாகாணத்தை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், சுமார் 2 கோடி, 80 லக்ஷம் ஏக்கர்கள் சாகுபடி நிலம் இருக்கிறது. இதிலே 70 லக்ஷம் ஏக்கர் நிலத்திற்குத்தான் நீர்பாசனமிருக்கிறது. அவற்றில் 34 லக்ஷம் ஏக்கர்கள் டெல்டா ஏரியா (delta area) ஆக இருந்து வருகிறது. மிச்சமுள்ள சுமார் 40 லக்ஷம் ஏக்கர்கள் மானுவாரி ஏரிகளின் மூலமாக நீர்பாசனம் அடையவேண்டும். இந்த ஏரிகளில் சுமார் 2,000 ஏரிகள் P. W. D. டிபார்ட்மெண்டில் இருக்கிறது. ஒரு பேகத்திற்கு ஜலம் கொடுக்கும்படியான நிலைமையிலேகூட இல்லை. 200 ஏக்கர்களுக்கு மேலாக யிருந்தால்தான் ரெவினியூ டிபார்ட்மெண்டிலிருந்து நீர்பாசனத்திற்கு,

7th August 1946] [Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiyar]

P. W. D. யில் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுகிறார்கள். அதோடு பருவமழையும் முன் காலத்தைப்போலச் சரியாகப் பெய்கிறதில்லை. இந்தநீர்ப்பாசன வசதிகளும், போன Settlement யிலே 150 ஏக்கர்களாக இருப்பதாக யிருந்தால், இந்த settlement-க்கு 250 ஏக்கர்களாக ஆகிவிடுகின்றன. இந்த நீர்ப்பாசனம் கூட 4 மாதத்திற்குத்தான் கிடைக்கிறது. ஒரு ஏக்கரவுக்கு 100 முதல் 150 ரூபாய் வரையில் செலவு செய்து, நிலத்தைச் சாகுபடி செய்தபிறகு கூட 10 நாளுக்கு ஜலம் இல்லாவிட்டால், அந்த நிலம் சாவியாகி கெட்டுவிடுகிறது. விவசாயிகளுக்கு இதனால் சுமார் 100 ரூபாய் நஷ்டம் ஆகிவிடுகிறது. விவசாயிகளின் நன்மைக்காக நிலவரி முறையிலே இந்த remission rules வையாவது மாற்றி, அவர்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத்தான் நான் இதைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். ஆகையால், இந்த முறைகளிலெல்லாம் கஷ்டப்பட்டு அவன் உற்பத்தி செய்தால், அந்த தானியத்திற்கு என்ன விலை இப்போது கொடுக்கப்படுகிறதென்பதை யோசிக்கவேண்டும். எவன் நமக்காக உணவை உற்பத்தி செய்கிறானோ, அவனுக்கு எவ்வளவு லாபம் கிடைக்கிறதென்பதை நாம் கவனிக்கவேண்டும்.

“அட்வைசர் அரசாங்கமானது ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் ஒவ்வொரு விதமாக விலைகளை நிர்ணயித்தார்கள். எங்களுடைய ஜில்லாவை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால், முதல் ரகம் நெல்லுக்கு ரூ. 5-7-6 கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. குறைந்தது 20 மணங்கு உற்பத்தி செய்ததால்தான் சாகுபடிக்குச் செலவு செய்த ரூபாய்க் கிடைக்கும். அதற்காக கீழ்போனால் அவர்களுக்கு நஷ்டம் ஆகிவிடுகிறது. சாதாரணமாக, 20 மணங்கு நெல் உற்பத்தி செய்தால் அதிலிருந்து வருமானம் ரூ. 120 கிடைக்கிறது. நான் முன்னே சொன்னதைப்போல் முதல் நெம்பர் நெல்லுக்கு ரூ. 5-7-6. இதில் மணங்கு 1-க்கு ரூ. 0-3-6 தான் கிடைக்கிறது. இந்த விலையை வைத்துக்கொண்டு விவசாயிகள் எப்படி அரசாங்கத்திற்கு அதிக நெல்லை உற்பத்தி செய்து கொடுக்க முடியுமென்று பாருங்கள். இன்று விவசாயிகள் தங்களுடைய கொழிலாளர்களுக்கு அதிகமாக சம்பளம் கொடுக்கவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையிலே அவர்கள் எப்படி தங்களுடைய குடும்பத்தைக் கஷ்டமின்றி நடத்த முடியுமென்பதை நாம் யோசிக்கவேண்டும். ஆகவே, நம்முடைய பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் உணவுப்பொருள்களின் விலையை நிர்ணயம் செய்யும்போது, இந்த விஷயங்களையெல்லாம் கவனத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இன்று வரியிலே பெரும் பாகம் விவசாயிகளால்தான் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. கல்விக்காகவும், ரோட்டுக்காகவும் அவர்களிடமிருந்து கொசுரு வரி வாங்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், இன்று எவ்வளவு ஊர்களுக்கு ரோட்டுகள் இருக்கின்றனவென்பது உங்களுக்கே தெரியும். எவ்வளவு ஊர்களுக்குக் கல்வி, குடி தண்ணீர் வசதி இருக்கிறதென்று பாருங்கள். எவன் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு அதிக வரியைக் கொடுக்கிறானோ அவனை எல்லோரும் அலக்ஷியம் செய்துவிட்டு, மற்றவர்களெல்லோரும் அவனுடைய பலனை அனுபவிக்க வேண்டுமென்ற முறையிலே அரசாங்கம் போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. நான் அதைப்பற்றி அதிகமாக இப்போது சொல்ல விரும்பவில்லை. ஆகவே, இதை ஞாபகத்தில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு இனிமேல் வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை சமர்ப்பிக்கும்போது விவசாயிகளுக்கான காரியங்களை நடைமுறையில் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத்தான் இதைச் சொல்லுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தப்படியாக நீர்ப்பாசனத்தை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். Non-delta area யிலே சுமார் 40 லக்ஷம் ஏக்கர்கள் இருக்கின்றன. இதில் ரெவினியூ டிபார்ட்மென்ட்டின் மைனர் இரிகேஷன் (minor irrigation) 26 ஆயிரம் ஏரிகளிருக்கின்றன. அவைகள் 15 நாள் முதற்கொண்டு, 2½ மாதம் வரையில் ஜலம் பிடிக்கும் ஏரிகளாக இருக்கின்றன. இந்த ஜலத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டு அவன் ஒருபோகம் நஞ்சை சாகுபடி செய்ய முடியுமாவென்று பாருங்கள். இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் நீர்ப்பாசனத்திற்காக எவ்வளவு பணம் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்று பார்த்தால், மிகவும் குறைவு என்று தான் சொல்லவேண்டும். இனிமேலாவது இதற்காக அதிக பணத்தை ஒதுக்குவதற்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும். அதோடு ஒவ்வொரு—
ஏரியின் கலிங்கலையும் கனியையும் உயர்த்தி மராமத்து செய்தால் நீர்

[Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiyar]

[7th August 1946]

பாசன அபிவிருத்தி ஏற்படும். இந்த ஏரிகளையெல்லாம் எந்த முறையிலே அபிவிருத்தி செய்யவேண்டுமோ அந்த முறையிலே செய்யவேண்டும். இதற்காக வென்று ஒரு Tank Restoration Department யை ஏற்படுத்தி 30 கோடி ரூபாய்க்குக் குறையாமல் ப்ரோவிஷன் ஏற்படுத்துங்கள் அப்போதுதான் இந்த ஏரிகளை நீங்கள் திருப்திகரமாக மராமத்து செய்ய முடியும்.

“இப்போது Post-war scheme ஐ எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். Advisor அரசாங்கம் Postwar schemeக்காக அதிக பணத்தை ஒதுக்கிவைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் Delta area க்குத்தான் எல்லாவற்றையும் Advisor அரசாங்கம் செய்தார்கள். Non-delta area நிலங்களுக்கு அவர்கள் ஒன்றையும் செய்யவில்லை. இந்த அரசாங்கமாவது விவசாயிகளை அலக்கியஞ் செய்யாமல் அவர்கள் பிரதிபலன் அடையும்படியாக தகுந்த முறையிலே திட்டங்களை வகுக்கவேண்டும். இந்த வருஷம் 46 கோடி ரூபாயில், 15 கோடி ரூபாய்தான் ஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யும் படியான முறையிலே ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதிலும், முக்கால்வாசி நகரத்திலேயே செவழிக் கப்படுகிறது. நகரவாசிகளுக்குச் செலவழிக்க வேண்டாமென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை. ஆனால், பெரும்பான்மையாக யாரிடமிருந்து பணம் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்படுகிறதோ அவர்களுக்கு அதைவழங்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் வற்புறுத்துகிறேன். ஆகையால், இந்த விஷயங்களை யெல்லாம் மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு இனிமேல் கொண்டுவரப்படும் பட்ஜெட்டை விவசாயிகள் முன்னேற்றம் அடைவதற்குத் தகுந்தவரையில்வகுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த அரசாங்கம் வந்ததும் நீர்பாசன திற்காக கிணறுகள் வெட்டுவதற்கு மானியம்கொடுக்கப்பட்டது. இது மிகவும் போற்றத்தக்க காரியமாகும். இந்தாட்டில் பிரிட்ஷ் அரசாங்க வந்தது முதல் இவ்விதம் செய்யப்பட்டது இதுதான் முதல் தடவை. வருஷா வருஷம் இதற்காக பட்ஜெட்டிலே பணம் ஒதுக்கி வைக்கவேண்டுமென்று அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆகையால் கிராம வாசிகளின் நிலைமையைச் சரியாக மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு யார் நமக்கு பணம் அதிகமாகக் கொடுக்கிறார்களோ, அவர்களுடைய நன்மைக்காக சரியான முறையிலே வேலை செய்யவேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்துடன் அரசாங்கம் காரியங்களைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

5-30 MR. PRESIDENT:—“I request hon. Members present not
p.m. to leave their places, because I think we are fast reaching a stage when there will be no quorum. I hope hon. Members will co-operate with me to carry on with business of the House.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR:—“அவைத்தலைவர்களே”

K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—“On a point of order, Mr. President. Can any hon. Member of this House who knows English, speak in any other language?”

MR. PRESIDENT:—“He can choose to speak in any language he prefers.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR:—“அவைத்தலைவரவர்களே! 7 வருஷங்கள் கழித்து இப்பொழுது இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டம் நம்கையில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த சட்டசபை கவுன்சில் (மேல் சபை) 7 வருஷங்களுக்குப் பிறகு இப்பொழுது தான் கூடுகிறது. இந்த சட்டசபையானது சாகாவரம் பெற்ற சட்டசபை. இதற்கு அழிவே கிடையாது. 3 வருஷங்களுக்கு ஒரு முறை 3-ல் ஒரு பங்கு மெம்பர்கள் வெளியேறுவதும் பதிலுக்கு 3-ல் ஒரு பங்கு புது மெம்பர்களை, புது ரதத்தை கொண்டு வருவதும் ஒரு முறையாக, 1935-ம் வருஷத்திய Government of India Act-ல் (இந்தியா கவர்ன்மென்ட் சட்டத்தில்) ஏற்பாடு செய்தார்கள். ஆனாலும் சாகாவரம் பெற்ற இந்த சபை கூட 7 வருஷங்கள் கல்லறையில் போயிருந்ததோ என்னமோ தெரியாது. 7 வருஷங்களாக வரவு செலவு

7th August 1946] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

திட்டத்தை (Budget) நாம் பார்க்கவில்லை. அவ்விதமான இந்த சட்ட சபைக்கு—அந்த பக்கத்தில் (side) 2 மெம்பர்களுக்கூட தங்கள் அதிருப்தியை தெரிவித்தார்கள். இதற்கு cut motion move (குறைக்கும் பிரேரணை) பண்ணக்கூட உரிமையில்லை, demand (டிமாண்ட்)ன் மேல் vote (வோட்) செய்ய உரிமையில்லை என்று எல்லாம் சொல்லி குறை பட்டுக்கொண்டார்கள். இது வாஸ்தவம்தான். இந்த சட்டசபைக்கு ஒருவித அதிகாரமில்லை. சாதாரணமாக நாங்கள் சொல்லுவது அஜாகனஸ்தை என்று, வேண்டாத சபை. ஒருவரும் விரும்பாத சபை, வேண்டுமென்றே வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அனாவசியமாகத்தான் இதை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த சட்டசபை தேர்தல் நடந்துவந்த உடனே ஒவ்வொரு மெம்பரும் ராஜ் விசுவாஸப்பிரமாணம் ! என்ன ராஜ் விசுவாஸ பிரமாணம் ? ராஜ் விசுவாஸ பிரமாணம் எடுத்துக்கொண்டேதானிருக்கிறோம். இதில் நம் பிக்கையுள்ளவர்கள் எத்தனை பேர் இருக்கிறார்கள் ! Mental reservation (மெண்டல் ரிஸர்வேஷன்) என்றுகூட சிலர் பேசினார்கள். அம்பாதிநித்தான் ராஜ்விசுவாஸப் பிரமாணம். இந்த காலத்தில், 1946-ம் வருஷத்தில் British (பிரிடிஷ்) மந்திரிகள் ஒரு Independence constitution இண்டிபெண்டென்ஸ் காண்ஸ்டிடியூஷனை நீங்கள் செய்துகொள்ளுங்கள், நீங்கள் Independent (இண்டிபெண்டண்ட்) ஆக British connexion (பிரிடிஷ் தொடர்பை) அறுத்துக்கொண்டு போகவேண்டுமென்றாலும் உங்களுக்கு உரிமை இருக்கிறது என்று பகிரங்கமாக சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்தக்காலத்திலும்கூட மன்னர் பிரானுக்கும் அவர் பின் சந்ததியார்கள்க்கும் எங்களையே ராஜ் விசுவாஸத்தை தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறோம் என்று நாம் இங்கே சொல்லுவது எவ்வளவு விரும்பத்தக்கது என்பதை நான் உங்கள் மத்தியில் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த ராஜ் விசுவாஸப் பிரமாணத்தை, இந்த Constituent Assembly (காண்ஸ்டிடியெண்ட் அஸெம்பிளி) வருகிறது, அது சீக்கிரத்தில்கூடப் போகிறது, ஒரு சுதந்திர திட்டத்தை வகுக்கப்போகிறது, அதன் பிரகாரம் இந்த Bicameral Legislature (இரண்டு சட்ட சபை) போய்விடும், இந்த (Council) கௌன்ஸில் போய்விடும், ஒரே சட்டசபைதான் நம் மாகாணத்திலிருக்கும், இந்த ராஜ்விசுவாஸப்பிரமாணம் மாறுதலடையும், நம் ராஜ் விசுவாஸத்தை நம்மை தேர்ந்தெடுத்தவர்கள், நம் எஜமானர்கள், அவர்களுக்குத்தான் நம் ராஜ் விசுவாஸத்தை தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டியதாக இருக்கும் என்று எல்லாம் எதிர்பார்த்தோம். ஆனால் காண்ஸ்டிடியெண்ட் அஸெம்பிளி (Constituent Assembly) எப்படி திட்டம் (proposals) டோருகிறதோ அடுத்த Budget கூட்டத்திற்கு முன்னால் அதுகூடுகிறதோ என்னமோ தெரியாது.

“இந்தச்சட்ட சபையில் வரவுசெலவு திட்ட (Budget) பிரேரேபிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இதில் சுமார் 40 (demand) டிமேண்டுகள் இருக்கின்றன. ஒவ்வொரு demand (டிமேண்டையும்) பார்த்தால் “The demand has the approval of His Excellency” என்று போட்டிருக்கிறது. சுதந்திரச் சட்டசபை, சுதந்திர ஆசுபியாக இருந்தால் அம்மாநிரி இருக்குமா ? Governor approval (கவர்னர் அனுமதி) பெற வேண்டியிருக்குமா ? இது (antiquated) புராதன கால சட்டசபை சட்டப்படி ஏற்பட்ட சட்டசபை, இதில் ஒவ்வொரு அம்சத்திற்கும் His Excellency அனுமதி பெறவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. பெற்றதாக demand (டிமேண்டுகளில் ஒட்டவைக்கப்பட்டுமிருக்கிறது. இப்படிப்பட்ட சட்டசபை எதற்காக இருக்கவேண்டும் ? நமக்கு demandல் (cut motion move) வெட்டுப் பிரேரணைக்கொண்டவர பண்ணக்கூட இடமில்லை என்று சொன்னார்கள். Constituent Assembly (காண்ஸ்டிடியெண்ட்) அஸெம்பிளி கூடப்போகிறது. அதற்கு இந்த Council Member கள் vote போட உரிமை கிடையாது. அந்த அஸெம்பிளிக்கு (Assembly) இந்த சட்டசபை மெம்பர்கள் மெம்பராக நிற்கவோ வோட்டுகொடுக்கவோ உரிமை கிடையாது. என்ன சட்டசபை ! எதற்காக இது ? (சிரிப்பு) இந்த அலங்கார சட்டசபை எதற்காக இருக்கவேண்டும். இதை எவ்வளவு சீக்கிரத்தில் ஒழித்து விடுகிறோமோ அவ்வளவும் நல்லது.

“அது கிடக்கட்டும். இப்பொழுது இங்கே (Budget) இருக்கிறது. பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் பிரேரேபித்திருக்கிறார்கள். பலர் புகழ்ந்தார்கள், பலர்

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

இகழ்ந்தார்கள், பலர் நல்ல (Budget) என்று சொன்னார்கள். பலர் இதில் மொத்தம் மொத்தமாக demand கள் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொன்னார்கள். நான் பல சட்ட சபை பட்ஜெட்டுகளை பார்த்திருக்கிறேன். எத்தனை யோதரம் இது மாதிரி Central Government Budget-ல் கூட இருந்திருக்கிறது. இது ஆச்சரியமில்லை. அவசரமாக பட்ஜெட்டை தயாரித்தார்கள். April 30-ம் தேதி அதிகாரத்துக்கு வந்து July 31-ம் தேதி Budget-ஐ நமக்கு சமர்ப்பித்தார்கள். எவ்வளவு அவசரமாக செய்திருக்க வேண்டும். பழைய Financial Department உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுடனான இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் Budget தயார் பண்ணுகிற முறையே வேறு. இப்பொழுது பிரதம மந்திரி Budget தயார் பண்ணிய முறையே வேறு. அதைப் பார்த்தால் எவ்வளவு சீக்கிரமாக Permanent Financial Department (பெர்மனென்டு பைனேன்ஷியல் டிபார்ட்மெண்ட்) அபிஷேஸ் பிரதம மந்திரியுடன் ஒத்துழைத்து தங்கள் மனதை இதில் அமர்த்திக்கொண்டு இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை தயார் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று யோசிக்கும் காலத்தில் இதிலுள்ள எல்லா defects களையும் நாம் அடியோடு கவனிக்காமல் விட்டுவிடவேண்டியதுதான். அதோடு கூட இந்த பட்ஜெட் Budget நல்ல பட்ஜெட் (Budget) எல்லோராலும் புகழத்தக்க பட்ஜெட் (Budget). இது பொதுஜன வரவு சிலவு திட்டம் People's Budget என்பது விசதமாகத்தெரிகிறது.

“எனக்கு முன் பேசிய ஸ்ரீமான் ராமசாமி ரெட்டியாரவர்கள் விவசாயிகளுக்கு ஒன்றும் செய்யவில்லை. நீர்பாய்ச்சலுக்கு Irrigation பணம் போரவில்லை என்று அபிப்பிராயப்பட்டார். வாஸ்தவம்தான். இது போராது தான். ஆனால் இது வரையிலிருந்ததைவிட நீர்பாசன கிராண்டு (Irrigation grant) நிறைய கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். மந்திரிளும் இதை வா வேற்றார்கள் என்ற நம்பிக்கை எனக்கு இருக்கிறது. மந்திரிகளுடன் ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டியது. இந்த இலாக்கா சாசுவத அதிகாரிகள் (Permanent officials of the department) ஒழுங்காகவும் அக்கரையுடனும் பாடுபட்டு இந்த மழைக்காலம் வருவதற்குள் எந்த எந்த வேலைகளை பூர்த்தி செய்து உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு வேண்டிய ஜலவசதி செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமோ அதை எல்லாம் செய்வார்களானால் நமக்கு ஒன்றும் குறைவிருக்காது.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இந்த பொதுஜன வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் (People's Budget) நீர்மாண வேலைகள், ஆக்க வேலைகள் எல்லாம் கண்டிருக்கிறது. ஒவ்வொரு ஆக்க வேலைக்கும் grant கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இதில் மனக்கசப்பு சிலருக்கு. இந்த காங்கிரஸ் சபையின் பேரிலிருக்கும் குரோதத்தை இந்த ஆக்க வேலையின்மேல் காட்டி குறை கூறுகிறார்கள். என்ன முழுக்கிப்போகிறது. பிளாக்கு கிராண்ட் (Block grant) போட்டால் என்ன? திட்டம் (scheme) தயாராகவிட்டால் என்ன? ப்ளாக்குகிராண்டு (Block grant) போட்டு 6 மாதம் வேலை செய்யட்டும். மிச்சமிருந்தால், அடுத்த பட்ஜெட்டில் நிச்சயம் இந்த ஆக்க வேலைகளுக்கு எல்லாம் grant வரப்போகிறது. மிச்சத் தொகையுடன் வருகிற grantஐயும் சேர்த்து அடுத்த வருஷத்தில் பிரமாதமாக வேலை நடக்கும் என்ற நம்பிக்கை நமக்கு இருக்கிறது. அப்படி இருக்க பிளாக்கிராண்ட் (Block grant) கொடுத்தால் என்ன என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். ஆக்க வேலை கனிலெல்லாம் தலை சிறந்த வேலை, ஆங்கிலத்தில் பிரையாரிட்டி (priority) என்று கத்தினார்கள். ஆக்க வேலையில் பிரதானமானது மதுபானத்தை ஒழித்தல், கன் குடியியை, சாராயம் கஞ்சா குடித்தலை ஒழித்தல், ஏழை ஜனங்கள் கஷ்டப்படாமல் அவர்கள் நிம்மதியாக பெண்டு பிள்ளைகளுடன் வாழவும், உணவு பொருள்களை வாங்கிக்கொள்ளவும், உடைகளை வாங்கி நன்றாக தரித்துக்கொள்ளவும், தங்கள் வீடுகளை செம்மைப்படுத்திக்கொள்ளவும் இது நல்ல சந்தர்ப்பம். பொருளாதார முறையை விருத்தி செய்யக்கூடிய முறை இது. இந்த மது விலக்கைப் (prohibition) பற்றி குறைகூறவேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை. மாகாணமெங்கும் மதுவிலக்கு (prohibition) வந்து விட்டால் நமக்கெல்லோருக்கும் சந்தோஷம். தேசமெங்கும் சந்தோஷம் மிகத்தானிருக்கும். பொருளாதார சாதக பாதகங்களிருக்கும், இன்னும் இராஜ்ய பார கஷ்டங்கள் (Administrative difficulties) எல்லாமிருக்கிறது. இதை உத்தேசித்து 4 ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு கொண்டு வந்தார்கள் மது விலக்கை. இப்பொழுது 8 ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். இது கோயம்பத்

7th August 1946] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

தூருக்கு எல்லாம் பெரிய அனுசூலமென்று நான் கருதுகிறேன். அங்கு பெரிய தொழிலாளர்கள் தொகுதி இருக்கிறது. சுமார் 20,000, 30,000 தொழிலாளர்கள் அங்கே இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களெல்லாம் குடிப்பேய்க்கு அடிமைகளாகப்போய் சதா சண்டையும் கத்திக்குத்தும் பார்த்துக்கொண்டேயிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்படிப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் இந்தக் குடிப்பழக்கம் கோயம்புத்தூரில் ஒழிக்கப்படுவது நாமெல்லோரும் விரும்பத்தக்கது. குடிப் பழக்கத்தை இந்த மாகாணத்தில் மூன்று வருஷங்களில் ஒழிக்க வேண்டுமென்று உறுதிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் **Minister** கள். மூன்று வருஷங்களில் ஒழிவது நிச்சயம். இப்பொழுது இந்த அக்டோபர் (October) விருந்து இந்த மாகாணத்தில் மூன்றிலொரு பங்கு ஜில்லாக்களில் ஒழிக்கப் போகிறார்கள். ஆனால் இந்தக்குடி ஒழிக்கும் விஷயத்திலும் அந்த இலாகா (Department) உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் நாணயமாகவும் ஒழுங்காக இருந்து, திருட்டுச்சாராயம் காச்சுவதையும், கள் இறக்குவதையும், விற்பதையும் தடுக்கவேண்டும். ஒரு கடை சாத்தி 10 கடைகள் வீடு வீடாக திறந்து வைத்துக்கொள்ளுவது மாதிரி அதிகரிமங்களை தடுத்து நாணயமாக இருந்து உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் வேலை செய்யவேண்டியது ரொம்ப விரும்பத்தக்கது அவசியம். மது விலக்கு (Prohibition) செய்து விட்டேன் என்று ஒரு கடையை சாத்திவிட்டு மறு தினமே ஆங்காங்கு திருட்டுச் சாராயம் காச்சி விற்கப்பட்டால் அது மது விலக்கு (Prohibition) செய்வதாகாது. இதை நாம் ரொம்ப கவனமாகத்தான் செய்ய வேண்டும். நான் வேறொரு இடத்தில் சொன்னேன், அதை இப்பொழுது இங்கேயும் சொல்லுகிறேன். உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுெல்லாம் மூன்று தவறியிருக்கிறார்கள். யுத்த காலத்தில் அவர்களெல்லாம் காங்கிரஸ் (Congress) மந்திரிகள் வந்த பிறகு கொஞ்சம் ஒழுங்கு படுத்திக்கொள்ளவேண்டும், நாணயம் ஏற்படுத்திக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். அவர்கள் நாணயத்தை ஏற்படுத்திக்கொண்டு மந்திரிகள் எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும் இந்த வேலையில் ஒத்துழைத்து சாசுவதமான நிரந்தரமான நன்மையை தரவேண்டுமென்று அவர்கள் உறுதிக்கொண்டு வேலை செய்யவேண்டும். அப்படி வேலை செய்வதால் இந்த கட்டு (Prohibition) ஒழித்தல் மிகுந்த நல்ல பலனைத்தரும் இந்த தேசத்தில் என்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம். குடி ஒழித்தல்தான் பிரதானமான முதல் ஸ்தானம் (Priority) பெற்ற சமூகத்திருத்தம் (Social reform).

“மற்ற, இதர ஆக்க வேலைகள் எல்லாம் முக்கியமானவைதான். ரொம்ப அவசியமானவைகள் கதர் உற்பத்தி செய்வது காங்கிரஸ்காரன் திட்டம் என்று இருப்பதை சிறிது நேரம் மற்றது விடுங்கள். இப்பொழுது உடைக்கா என்ன பாடுபடுகிறார்கள் ஜனங்கள் என்பதை நீங்கள் சற்று யோசியுங்கள். எப்படி க்யூ ஸிஸ்டம் (Queue system) படி 100—200 பேர் வெயிலில் 12 மணி வரையில் காத்துக்கொண்டிருந்து துணி கிடைத்து என்று திரும்பி வீட்டுக்கு போகிறார்கள்! எத்தனை ரிக்ஷாக்காரர்கள் க்யூ ஸிஸ்டம் (Queue system) த்தில் போய் நின்று வாங்க சக்தியற்றவர்களுக்கு (Queue) ல் நின்று துணி வாங்கிக்கொண்டுவந்து கொடுத்து அதற்காக வெகுமதியடைகிறார்கள் என்று பாருங்கள். சென்னை நகரமிருக்கிறது, நகர புறப்பு உள்ள (Mufassal) ஊர்களாகிய பூந்தமல்லி போன்ற இடங்களுக்கு எல்லாம் துணி கொடுக்கிறார்கள். அங்கே கொடுக்கக்கூடிய துணிகளை சென்னையிலுள்ள பிரமுகர்கள் காரில் (Car) போய் வாங்கிக் கொண்டு வந்து விடுகிறார்கள்! (சிரிப்பு). அங்கேயுள்ள கிராம ஜனங்களுக்கு துணி கிடைப்பது அரிதாகிறது. சென்னையில் துணி கிடைக்காதவர்கள் அங்கே வந்து வாங்குகிறார்கள். இந்த மாதிரி நிலைமை இருக்கிறது. அப்படியிருக்கையில் இந்த கதர்திட்டத்தை சரிவர நிறைவேற்றினால் துணி கிடைக்கும் எல்லாருக்கும். இது நல்ல திட்டம். இதைப்பற்றி (பிரொவின்ஷியல் டெக்ஸ்டிலில் கமிஷனர்) Provincial Textile Commissioner தயாரித்திருக்கிற குறிப்பை (Note) வாசித்துப் பார்த்தேன். இந்த ஐ.ஸி.எஸ் (I.C.S.) உத்தியோகஸ்தர் A.I.S.A.க்காரர்கள் பண்ணுகிறமாதிரி நோட்டை போட்டால் இந்த தேசத்துக்கு என்ன குறைவு என்று கேட்கிறேன். ஆனால் குறிப்பு (Note) போடப் பிரகாரம் அவர்கள் உண்மையாக நாணயமாக இருந்து வேலை செய்ய வேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்தால் இந்த கதர் திட்டம் 100-க்கு 100 இல்லாவிட்டாலும் 100-க்கு 50 ஆவது வெற்றியடைந்தால்

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

கிராம ஜனங்களுக்கு எவ்வளவோ துணி கிடைக்கும். க்யூ சிஸ்டத்தி (Queue system) ல் திண்டாடவேண்டியதில்லை. பூந்தமல்லிக்காரர்கள் பட்டணத்துக் காரர்கள் துணியைக்கொண்டு போகிறார்களே என்று ஆத்திரப்படவேண்டிய தில்லை.

“ அடுத்தாற்போல் கிராம புனைருத்தாரணம், கிராம கைத்தொழில்கள் என்று பலதரப்பட்ட ஆக்க வேலைகளையும் செய்வோம். பப்ளிக் ஹெல்த் (Public health) க்காக கிராண்ட் (Grant) கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இது ஆக்க வேலைகளில் சிறந்தது. கல்வி விஷயத்தை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அதற்கும் கிராண்ட் (Grant)கள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நம் மாகாணத்தில் தாய் பாஷைலிருக்கும் ரீஜனல் (Regional) பாஷைக்கும் வித்தியாசமேயில்லை. தமிழ் நாட்டில் ரீஜனல் பாஷை (Reginal language) தமிழ், ஆந்திர தேசத்தில் ரீஜனல் பாஷை (Regional language) தெலுங்கு, மலையாள தேசத்தில் ரீஜனல் பாஷை (Regional language) மலையாளம், ஆகையினால் தாய் பாஷைக்கும் ரீஜனல் பாஷை (Regional language)க்கும் வித்தியாசமில்லை. ரீஜனல் பாஷையில் (Regional language) பாடம் சொல்லி கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று அரசாங்கம் உத்தரவு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். பலருக்கு இது ஆங்கிலத்தில் அனாதிமா (Anathema) என்று சொல்லுவதுபோல் எட்டிக்கொட்டையாக இருக்கிறது. புகார் செய்கிறார்கள். மேலாண்டு நாகரீகத்தை பெற்றவர்களுக்கு, ஆங்கிலம் கற்றவர்களுக்கு, அதில் உழன்றவர்களுக்கு, அதில் அமிழ்ந்து கிடக்கிறவர்களுக்கு இது பிடிக்கவில்லை. தாய் பாஷையில்தான் கல்வி இருக்க வேண்டும். எந்த தேசத்திலாவது பிரிட்டிஷ் (British) அரசாங்கம் தமிழில் பாடம் கற்பிப்போமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்களா? பிரஞ்சு (French) காரர்கள் இங்கிலாந்தில் கற்றுக்கொள்ளலாமென்று பேசவில்லை. இதெல்லாம் உப பாஷை (Second language) சர்வதேச (International) விஷயங்களுக்குக்காக எந்த பாஷையை வேண்டுமானாலும் கற்றுக்கொள்ளுவார்கள். ஆனால் தாய் பாஷையில்தான் கல்வி கற்பார்கள். தாய் பாஷையில் கல்வி கற்றால்தான் 16 வயதுக்குள் பிற்பாஷையில் மூளையை குழப்பிக்கொண்டிருக்கிற பையன் கள் 12 வயதுக்குள் அதே அளவு (Standard) கல்வியை பெற முடியும். 4,000 உபாத்தியாயர்களுக்கு பயிற்சி அளிக்கும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களி (Training school)ல் பயிற்சி கொடுக்கப்பட்டுவதாக கனம் மந்திரியவர்கள் சொல்லுவதைக் கேட்டோம். பயிற்சி (Training) கொடுப்பதானால் அடிப்படை கல்வி திட்டத்தில் (Basic Education Scheme) உபாத்தியாயர்களை பழக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர இனி பழைய முறையில் அவர்களை பழக்கி அதற்கு பணத்தை விரயம் செய்வதில் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. ஆரம்ப கல்வி (Elementary education) கொஞ்சம் தாமதப்படுவதாக இருந்தால்கூட இந்த அடிப்படை கல்வி போதிப் பதற்கு (Basic education teaching) உபாத்தியாயர்களை பழக்கவேண்டும். இதில் ஒரு கஷ்டமும்மில்லை. இந்த 4,000 உபாத்தியாயர்களை அடிப்படை கல்வி போதிப்பதற்கு (Basic education train) பண்ணி தாய் பாஷையில் தொழில் மூலமாக கல்வியை கற்றுக் கொடுத்தால் அவர்களுக்கு நல்ல பயிற்சி கிடைக்கும். அதை கற்கும் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு நல்ல பிழைப்புக்கும் வழியாகும். உத்தியோகத்துக்காக காத்திருக்க வேண்டியதில்லை, நல்ல குணங்களும் (Character) உண்டாகும் என்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம். இப்பொழுது நாம் கற்கும் படிப்பு குணத்தை (Character) போதுமானபடி விருத்தி பண்ண வில்லை என்று துணிவுடன் நான் சொல்லுவேன். ஒரு சிலர் குணம் (Character) உள்ளவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள், இல்லையென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை. அப்படி இருந்தால் அவர்கள் பெற்று ஆங்கிலப்படிப்பை மிஞ்சி அவர்கள் பரம்பரை பழக்கத்தில் வந்த character எ தவிர ஆங்கிலப் படிப்பில் வரவில்லை என்பது என் சொந்த அபிப்பிராயம். அடிப்படை கல்வி (basic education) தான் நமக்கு விமோசனத்தை கொடுக்கும். நமக்கு வேண்டிய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் நல்ல குணம் (character) உடன் உள்ளவர்கள், நல்ல முறையிலுள்ளவர்கள் அடிப் படை கல்வியின் (basic education) மூலமாகத்தான் கிடைப்பார்கள். இப் பொழுது ஆரம்பித்தால் 10 வருஷத்தில் கிடைப்பார்கள். கல்வி கிராண்டில் (education grant) கல்விக்காக ஒதுக்கி யிருக்கும் மான்யத்தில் ஒரு அளவு மான்யம் அடிப்படை கல்விக்காக (basic education) ஒதுக்கி இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நினைக்கிறேன். இது ரொம்ப முக்கியமான விஷயம்.

7th August 1946] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

“தாய் பாஷைக்கல்லியுடன் ஹிந்தியையும் நாம் கற்றுக்கொள்ளத்தான் வேண்டும். நாம் ஒருவரோடு ஒருவர் பழக ஹிந்தி அவசியம். கற்றுத் தானாகவேண்டும். அதை கட்டாயமாக (compulsory) ஆக வைக்க வேண்டாம். ஒவ்வொரு ஸ்கூலிலும் ஹிந்துஸ்தானி உபாத்தியாயரை நியமித்து பையன்களுக்கு ஹிந்துஸ்தானி சொல்லிக்கொடுக்க ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டும். அப்பொழுதுதான் நாம் முன்னேற முடியும். அதற்குப் பட்ஜெட்டில் இடம் வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நினைக்கிறேன். கிராம புனர்தாரணம் (rural reconstruction) ஹிந்துஸ்தானி, அடிப்படை கல்வி (basic education) முதலிய எல்லா நிர்மாண வேலைகளுக்கும் இடம் வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். எல்லா நிர்மாண வேலைகளையும் ஒழுங்காக, சரிவர நடத்த வேண்டியது அத்தியாவசியம்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக நான் கூற விரும்புவது இந்த தேசத்தில் உத்தியோகங்களை (Service) களை யெல்லாம் இந்தியர்களாக (Indianise) பண்ண வேண்டும். இன்னும் அந்திய நாட்டாரை போலிஸ், மெடிகல், ஜூடிஷியல், எக்ஸ்ஸிக்யூட்டிவ் சர்வீஸ் (Police Medical, Judicial, Executive Service) களில் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களாக கொண்டுவருவது அவ்வளவு உசிதமில்லை. முக்கியமாய் நான் குறிப்பிடவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. பிரிட்டிஷ் பார்லிமென்ட் (British Parliament) பல வருஷங்களுக்கு முன் ஐ கோர்ட் சிடி ஜஸ்டிஸ் இந்திய அட்வகேட்டாக (High Court Chief Justice Indian Advocate) இருக்கலாமென்று சட்டம் நிறை வேற்றியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் இது வரையில் அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவரவில்லை. மதராஸ் அட்வைசர் கவர்ன்மென்ட் (Madras Adviser Government) கூட சமீபத்தில் ஒரு ஆங்கிலேயரை பிரதம நீதிபதியாக (Chief Justice) நியமித்திருக்கிறார்கள். இன்னும் ஏழு வருஷங்களுக்கு அவர் இருப்பார். இது ரொம்ப வெறுக்கத்தக்க விஷயம். சமீபத்தில் பத்திரிகையில் நான் வாசித்தேன். சென்னை கார்பரேஷன் (Corporation) ஐஸோலேஷன் ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் (Isolation Hospital) இரண்டு வெள்ளைய நர்ஸுகளை (European Nurses) அமர்த்தியிருக்கிறார்களென்று பத்திரிகையில் வாசித்தேன். இது எனக்கு வருத்தத்தை கொடுத்தது. சென்ற காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபையில் (Congress Ministry) டாக்டர் ராஜன் மந்திரியாக (Dr. Rajan Minister) இருந்த போது மெடிகல் காலேஜ் பிரின்ஸிபால் (Medical College Principal) வேலைக்கு ஒரு இந்தியரை போட வேண்டுமென்று நண்பர் டாக்டர் லக்ஷ்மணசாமிமுதலியார் (Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar) அவர்களை போட்டார்கள். ஒரு ஆங்கில மேசேஜ் நர்ஸ் (massage nurse) அட்வைசர் கவர்ன்மென்ட் (Advisor Government) வரவழைத்தார்கள். இங்கிலாந்தி (England)லிருந்து. அவர்கள் வேண்டியதில்லை என்று திருப்பி அனுப்பிவிட்டார்கள். காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மென்ட் (Congress Government) அப்படி நடந்திருக்கும்போது இப்பொழுது 1946-ம் வருஷத்தில் கார்ப்பரேஷன் ஆங்கில நர்ஸுகளை நியமித்தார்கள் என்றால் அது வெறுக்கத்தக்கது.

“சிறை சீர்திருத்தத்தைப் (Jail reform) பற்றி மோர்கோடுத் திருக்கிறது. இன்னும் என்ன (reform) வேண்டுமென்று ஒரு நண்பர் கேட்டார் இங்கே. ஒரு தடவை ஜெயிலுக்குப் போய் வந்துவிட்டால் (either as visitor or as prisoner) அவர்களுக்கு புரியுமென்று சொல்லுவேன். (சிரிப்பு). சென்னை ரிப்பன் பில்டிங்கு (Ripon Buildings) எதிரில் சிறை (Penitentiary) இருக்கிறது. கக்கூலில் 2 அடி சுவர் தானிருக்கிறது. பன்னிரண்டு பேர், பதினைந்து பேர் ஏக காலத்தில் உட்காரலாம். ஒருவர் உட்காரந்தால் பலர் தாண்டி போய்க்கொண்டிருப்பார்கள். கிரிமினல் பிரிஸனர் (Criminal prisoners) க்கே இது கேவலம். நமக்கு (Political prisoners) எவ்வளவு கேவலம்! கக்கூலில் மறைவே கிடையாது. ஒருவன் குந்தியிருந்தால் பலர் அவனை தாண்டிக்கொண்டுபோகிறார்கள். ஒரு குடித்தனகாரன் பிளஷ் அவுட் (flesh-out) கட்டவில்லை யென்றால் கார்ப்பரேஷன் நோட்டீஸ் (Corporation notice) கொடுக்கிறார்கள். ஏன் கட்டவில்லை யென்று கேஸ் (case) போடுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் பெரிய கவர்ன்மென்ட் சிறையில் (Government Jail) பெரிய கவர்ன்மென்ட் (Government) உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் கூட அங்கே, பிரிஸனர்களாக (prisoner) வந்திருந்தார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

[7th August 1946]

கூட இதே கதிதான்! உட்கார்ந்தால் 15 பேர் பார்த்துக்கொண்டே போவார்கள் (சிரிப்பு). உட்கார்ந்துகொண்டு சம்பாஷணை வேறே இதில்! (சிரிப்பு). இப்படி இந்த கக்கூஸ் (latrine) இருக்கிறது. இதை சீர்திருத்த வேண்டும். இது மாதிரி தான் வேலூர், திருச்சிப்பள்ளியிலும் (Vellore, Trichinopoly). இதை சீர்திருத்தவேண்டும்.

“Political க்குள் எந்த வித்தியாசமும் கூடாது. வித்தியாசங்களை, ஒழிக்கவேண்டும். A, B, C, என்ற வித்தியாசங்கள் ஒழிக்கவேண்டும். பழைய பியூரோக்கிரடிக் கவர்ன்மெண்ட் (Bureaucratic Government) A, B, C, என்று அரசியல் கைதிகளை (Political prisoners) பிரித்திருந்தார்கள். அது அப்படியேதான் இருக்கிறது. Political க்குள் எந்த வித்தியாசமுமிருக்கக்கூடாது. பலதடவை democracy, democratic என்று இங்கே அந்த (எதிர்) பெஞ்சிலிருந்து பலர் பேசக்கேட்டேன். Political க்குள் A, B, C, என்று சொல்லி இவருக்கு ஒரு நாளைக்கு 10½ அணு செலவு, இவருக்கு 7½ அணு, இவருக்கு 3½ அணு, இவருக்கு உப்பில்லாக் கஞ்சி என்று வித்தியாசங்களை ஒரு கவர்ன்மெண்ட் (Government) காட்டினால், அதை நாகரீகமுள்ள கவர்ன்மெண்ட் (Government) என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள முடியாது. இப்பொழுதாவது காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மெண்ட், சிறையை சீர்திருத்தம் (Congress Government Jail Reform) பண்ணுவதில் அரசியல் கைதிகள் (Political prisoners) என்ற ஒரு வகுப்பு (class) அரசியல் அல்லாத கைதிகள் (non-political prisoners) என்ற ஒரு வகுப்பு (class) இருந்தால் போதும். அரசியல் கைதிகளுக்கு (Political prisoners) எல்லாம் ஒரே விதமான உணவு வகையறு சௌகரியங்களை செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அவர்களுக்கு எவ்வளவு அந்தமாதிரி சௌகரியங்கள் கொடுக்கமுடியுமோ அவ்வளவும் கொடுத்து, இன்னும் எதாவது வேண்டியிருந்தால் அதை அவர்களே சொந்தச் செலவில் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளலாமென்று அனுமதி கொடுக்க வேண்டும். தீர்ந்து போச்சு அரிசியல் கொந்தளிப்பு (political agitation). இனி கான்ஸ்டிடியூன்ட் அசம்பளி (Constituent Assembly) சுதந்திரம் என்று கண்கண்டு கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மறுபடியும் இன்னொரு பெரிய போராட்டமில்லாமல் சுதந்திரம் நமக்கு வருமென்ற நம்பிக்கை ஒருவருக்கும் காணோம். சுதந்திரம் இந்த கான்ஸ்டிடியூன்ட் அசம்பளி (Constituent Assembly) மூலமாக வரப்போகிறதென்று நம்பிக்கை ஒருவருக்குமில்லை. ஒரு பெரிய போராட்டம் நடக்கவேண்டியிருக்கும் என்று தான் தலைவர்கள் சொல்லிக்கொண்டார்கள். இது நிற்க, இப்பொழுது முஸ்லிம் லீக் (Muslim League) சகோதரர்கள் ஒத்துழையா இயக்கும் ஆரம்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் என்ன செய்யப்போகிறார்களோ? அவர்கள் வந்தாலும் சரி ஜெயிலில் நமக்கு வேண்டிய நன்மைகள் அவர்களுக்கும் தான் இருக்கட்டும்! (சிரிப்பு). நாம்போகாவிட்டாலும் அவர்கள் போனால் அவர்களுக்கு இந்த சலுகைகள் எல்லாம் காட்டவேண்டியதுதானே! (சிரிப்பு) நாணயமான நாகரீக (civilized) அரசாங்கம் காட்டவேண்டிய சலுகைகள் எல்லாம் நாம் அவர்களுக்குக் காட்டவேண்டியதுதானே! ஆகையினாலே இந்த சிறை சீர்திருத்தம் (Jail Reform) அத்தியாவசியமாக வேண்டுமென்று நான் சொல்லவிரும்புகிறேன்.

“சகோதரர்களே, Mr. President அவர்களே! (சிரிப்பு) எனக்கு முன் பேசிய ஸ்ரீமான் ராமசாமி ரெட்டியாரவர்கள் பேசினார்கள். இந்த தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு (labourers) இங்கே அட்வகேட்கள் (Advocates) இருக்கிறார்கள், இங்கே நான்-கஜட்ட உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுக்கு (non-Gazetted officers), அட்வகேட்டுகள் (Advocates) இருக்கிறார்கள், போலீஸ் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுக்கு (Police Officers) அட்வகேட்டுகள் (Advocates) இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த பாழும் விவசாயிகளுக்கு அட்வகேட்டுகள் (Advocates) இல்லையே என்று அவர் கதறினார். அவர்களுடன் நானும் சொல்லுகிறேன், விவசாயிகள் ரொம்பக் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது எதோ விலைவாசிகள் உயர்ந்து இருக்கிறது விவசாயிகள் கொள்ளைலாபமடைகிறார்கள் என்று ஜில்லா உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் அபிப்பிராயப்படுகிறார்கள்! நியாயம்தான், ஜில்லா உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் அபிப்பிராயப்படி கொஞ்சம் நியாயமிருக்கிறது. எப்படியாவது அடித்துப் பிடித்து மென்னியைப்

7th August 1946] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

பிடித்து யுத்த சேமிப்பு (war-fund) யுத்த கடனுக்கு (war loan) டிராமாவைக்கு, நாட்டியக்கச் சேரிகு ரூபாய் 100, 50 என்று பிடுங்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையினாலே விவசாயிகள் பெரியப் பணக்காரர்கள் என்று நினைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் ! கிடையவே கிடையாது. நிர்ப்பந்தத்தால் வந்திருக்கிறது அந்தப் பணமெல்லாம். எவ்வளவோ லஞ்சம். கிணறு வெட்ட ரூ. 310 கவர்ன்மெண்டில் (Government) கொடுக்கிறார்கள். இந்த ரூபாயில் 10 ரூபாய் கிராம முன்வரீக்கு, 10 ரூபாய் கர்ணத்துக்கு, 25 ரூ. ரெவின்யு இன்ஸ்பெக்டருக்கு (Revenue Inspector) 25 ரூ. தாசில்தாருக்கு, இவ்வளவு ரூபாயும் சம்பாதித்து கொடுத்தால் தான் கடனை திருப்பிக்கொடுக்க லாயக்குள்ளவன் என்று சர்டிபை (certify) பண்ணுகிறார்கள். மீதிப் பணத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டுதான் அவன் கிணறு வெட்டவேண்டும். (சிரிப்பு) இது ரொம்ப மோசமாக இருக்கு. **Corruption** ஐ கணம் பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் 6 மாதத்தில் போக்கு கிறேன் என்று பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். இது ரொம்ப சந்தோஷம் கொடுக்கிறது. ஆனால் இப்பொழுதிருக்கிற நிலைமையைப் பார்த்தால் 6 வருஷ மானாலும் இது போகாது போலிருக்கு (சிரிப்பு). ஆனால் நான் ஏதிர்பார்ப்பதற்கு மிஞ்சி அவர்கள் 6 மாதத்திலோ, ஒரு வருஷத்திலோ கரப்ஷனை (Corruption) போக்கினால் என் அபாரமான நன்றியறிதலை அவர்களுக்கு தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

“ தலைவரவர்களே ! இந்த விலைக்கட்டுமான (control) நிலைமையிருக்கிறதே, எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு விலைக்கட்டுமானம் (control) இருக்கிறதோ அவ்வளவுக்கவ்வளவு கள்ள மார்கட்டு (black-market) அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. நூல் விலைக்கட்டுமானம் (control) இருக்கிறது. நூல் வினியோகிக்கிறார்கள் 40-ம் நம்பர் வேண்டியவர்களுக்கு 80-ம் நம்பர் கொடுக்கிறார்கள், 80-ம் நம்பர் வேண்டியவர்களுக்கு 40-ம் நம்பர் கொடுக்கிறார்கள் (சிரிப்பு). தேவையில்லாததே கொடுக்கிறார்கள். இரண்டுபேரும் கள்ள மார்கட்டில் (black-market) விற்கிறார்கள் 80 வேண்டியவன் 80-ம் நம்பர் வாங்குகிறான், 40 வேண்டியவன் 40-ம் நம்பர் வாங்குகிறான். 17 ரூபாய்க்கு கண்ட்ரோல் (control) விலைக்குக் கிடைத்ததை 70 ரூபாய்க்கு விற்கிறார்கள், வாங்குகிறார்கள் ! நெசவுக்காரன் ஏன் நெய்யவேண்டும் ! நூலாக விற்பது அதிக லாபம் சம்பாதித்து சௌக்கியமாக வாழுகிறான் ! துணியில்லையென்றால் எங்கே இருந்து துணி வரும் ? கள்ள மார்கட்டில் (black-market) நூல் வாங்கி (lungi) ஆகச் செய்து வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி (export) செய்கிறார்கள் ! முன் வியாபாரம் பண்ணினவனுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி பத்திரம் (export licence) கொடுக்கிறதில்லை. முன்பின்வியாபாரம் செய்யாதவர்களுக்கு எல்லாம் ஏற்றுமதி லைசென்ஸ் (export licence) கொடுக்கிறார்கள். வியாபாரம் பண்ணினவர்கள் licence பெற்றவர்களிடம் கள்ள மார்கட்டு (black-market) பண்ணி வியாபாரம் பண்ணுகிறார்கள் ! இது சரிதானா ? விரும்பக்கூடியது தானா ? (Control) இப்படி இருந்தால் போருமா ? இதையெல்லாம் புனராலோசனை செய்யவேண்டும். நூல் வினியோக விஷயத்தில் தறிக் காரர்கள் கார்டின் (card) மேல் கொடுக்கிற நூல்களை துணியாகச் செய்து திரும்ப கவர்ன்மென்ட் ஏஜென்ஸியிடம் (Government Agency) கொண்டு வந்து கொடுத்தால் தான் திரும்ப நூல் கொடுப்போம் என்று திட்டம் போட்டால் கள்ளமார்கட்டு (black-market) குறையும் என்று சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். பல கண்ட்ரோல்கள் (control) இருக்கின்றன. கண்ட்ரோல் (control) என்றால் எட்டுச்சுரைக்காய் தான். கள்ள மார்கட்டு (black-market) தான் ! கிரோலின் ஆயில் விலைக்கட்டுமானம் (kerosene oil control) இருக்கு. ஆனால் ஒரு tin 10 ரூபாய்க்கு 12 ரூபாய்க்கு விற்கிறது. சம்பந்தப்பட்ட உத்தியோகஸ்தனுக்கு ஒரு tin கொடுத்தால் கள்ள மார்கட்டு (black-market) சௌகரியமாக நடக்கிறது. பெட்ரோல் (petrol) கள்ள மார்கட் (black-market) நடக்கிறது. இந்த கண்ட்ரோல் (control) யெல்லாம் வைத்துக்கொண்டிருப்பதில் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. இனிமேல் பெட்ரோல் கண்ட்ரோல் (petrol control) இருக்கவேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை. கிரோலின் கண்ட்ரோல் (kerosene control) இருக்கவேண்டிய தவசியமில்லை. மோட்டார் கண்ட்

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar] [7th August 1946]

ரோல் (motorcar control) இருக்கவேண்டியதவசியமில்லை. அவ்வளவு கண்ட்ரோல் (control) களும் கள்ள மார்கட்டு (black-market) களைத் தான் வளர்க்கிறதே தவிர வேறென்று மில்லை ஆகையினால் மந்திரிகள் புனராலோசனை செய்து எவ்வளவு கண்ட்ரோல் (control)களை எடுக்கமுடியுமோ அவ்வளவையும் எடுக்கவேண்டும். அரிசி control, சர்க்கரை control, விறகு control எல்லாமிருக்கு. அவை களெல்லாமிருக்கவேண்டியதுதான், இதில் எவ்வளவு black-market லஞ்சமெல்லாமிருந்தாலும் இந்த control கள் இருக்கத்தான் வேண்டும். வேறு சில control களை ஒழித்தே விடலாம் என்று எனக்கு தோன்றுகிறது. ஒழித்தால் அபாரமான லாபமிருக்கிறது. இந்த இலாக்காகளில் (department) இருக்கிறவர்களை வேறு வேலையில் அமர்த்திக்கொள்ளலாம் இல்லாவிட்டால் அவர்களை வீட்டுக்கு அனுப்பிவிட்டு அவர்களுக்கு செலவாகிற பணத்தை மிச்சப்படுத்தலாம்.

“இன்னொரு யோசனை சொல்லவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. டியர்னஸ் அலவன்ஸ் (Dearness Allowance)பற்றி அபாரமாக பேசினார்கள் நியாய மில்லாமல் 1,000 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல் சம்பளம் வாங்குகிறவர்கள் பிரசாரம் பண்ணி டியர்னஸ் அலவன்ஸ் (Dearness Allowance) வாங்கினார்கள்! 1,000 ரூபாய் சம்பளம் வாங்குகிறவர்களுக்கும் அதற்குமேல் வாங்குகிறவர்களுக்கும் டியர்னஸ் அலவன்ஸ் (Dearness Allowance) வேண்டியதில்லை. சர்க்கார் இதை ஒழித்துவிடலாம். இதை கிராமபுனருத்தாரண வேலைக்கு கொடுத்து விடலாம்.”—

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ It is already time and I request the hon. Member to close his speech.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ I request you to give me ten more minutes, Sir. Or, can I continue my speech to-morrow.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ There will be no time to-morrow, but I will give you five more minutes now.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ தலைவரவர்களே ! காங்கிரஸ் (Congress) கச்சியைப்பற்றி பலர் பேசினார்கள், சிலர் யோசனைகளும் சொன்னார்கள், சிலர் கொஞ்சம் காங்கிரஸ் (congress) கச்சிமேல் குறை கூற வேண்டுமென்று பேசினார்கள். Discipline இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதைப்பற்றி பேசினார்கள் நானும் ஒத்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். Discipline ஐ மீறி ஒன்றும் நடந்துவிடவில்லையென்று தான் நான் அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லவிரும்புகிறேன். காங்கிரஸ் கச்சிபேரில் உங்களுக்கு குறை இருந்தால் அதை எந்த நிமிஷத்திலும் எந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்திலும் குறை கூறுவதென்று வைத்துக்கொள்ளுவது ஒழுங்கல்ல என்று நான் அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லவிரும்புகிறேன். ஏதோ எங்கள் கச்சிக்கூட்டத்தில் பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் Budget ரகசியங்களை வெளியிட்டார்கள் என்று சொன்னார்கள் ! ஒரு ரகசியத்தையும் அவர் கொடுக்கவில்லை. இங்கே கொடுக்கப்பட்ட பெரிய புத்தகங்களை கொடுத்தார்கள். சிலர் தபாலில் அனுப்பினது கிடைக்க வில்லையென்று சொன்னார்கள், இங்கே வாங்கிக்கொண்டார்கள். விவாதத்தில் பொதுவாக விவாதித்தோம். இதைத் தவிர ஒரு வரவு செலவு (budget) ரகசியமும் பிரதம மந்திரியவர்கள் அங்கே கூறவேயில்லை. எனக்குக்கூட தெரியும். மத்திய சட்டசபைக்கு சென்றிருக்கிறேன். வரவு செலவு திட்டம் கொடுப்பதற்கு Budget presentation முந்தின ராத்திரி தான் வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை (budget) கொடுப்பார்கள். பொருளாதார மெம்பரின் சொற்பொழிவை (Finance Member's Speech) அவர் பேசும்போதுதான் கொடுப்பார்கள். பொருளாதார பில்லை (Finance Bill) மத்திய சட்டசபையில் பிரேரேபித்த பிறகு தான் கொடுப்பார்கள். அவ்வளவு ஜாக்கிரதையாக இருப்பார்கள். ஆனால் மாகாண சட்டசபை வரவு செலவு திட்டங்களில் மத்திய சட்டசபை திட்டங்களைப் போல் பிரமாத, statement ஒன்றுமில்லை, புதிய வரிகள் ஒன்று

7th August 1946] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

மில்லை. அதைக்கண்டு பிடித்து கள்ள மார்கட்டு (black-market) பண்ணக்கூடிய விஷயம் ஒன்று மில்லை. அதற்காக இவ்வளவு சண்டை போடவேண்டிய அவசியமேயில்லை. ஆகையினால் இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டம் (budget) ஜனங்களின் வரவு செலவு திட்டம் (budget) இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை (budget) நமக்கு சமர்ப்பித்ததற்காக பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்களுக்கு நன்றி யறிதலை தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு நாமெல்லோரும் அவர்களுடன் ஒத்துழைத்து அவர்கள் திட்டம் போட்டிருக்கும் ஆக்கவேலைகளை யெல்லாம் திறம்பட நடத்தி ஐயப்பிரதமாக நிறைவேறும் படியாக நாமெல்லாரும் ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ There are still some hon. Members who wish to speak. So, I request the co-operation of the House to enable me to meet here at 10-30 a.m. to-morrow. I hope hon. Members will agree to this.

“ The House will now adjourn and meet again at 10-30 a.m. to-morrow the 8th August 1946.”

The House then adjourned.



